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Volume 1, Series 2

1921

EDITORS

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President William and Mary College

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J. A. C. CHANDLER,
President William and Mary College

E. G. SWEM,
Librarian William and Mary College

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E. G. SWEM, *Librarian William and Mary College*

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William and Mary College
Quarterly Historical Magazine

Vol. 1. Second Series JANUARY, 1921 No. 1.

THE FOUNDATIONS IN VIRGINIA.

Address of ALTON B. PARKER, *Chancellor of the Sulgrave Institute.*

Delivered at The College of William and Mary October 6th, 1920, as a Part of the Celebration of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Beginnings of Government in this Country.

We are celebrating this year, with the aid of distinguished representatives from Great Britain and Holland, the beginnings of Government in this country, which finally ripened into a Government, the like of which the world had never seen before surely, a Government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The first Legislative Assembly ever held in this country met at Jamestown, Virginia, July 30th, 1619, in the chancel of the church, Governor Yeardley presiding. This Assembly was authorized by a charter from Great Britain dated October 13, 1618.

Some fifteen months later, all the men on board the Mayflower signed the following compact of Government:

> "In ye name of God, Amen. Doo by these presents solemnly and mutually, in ye presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves togeather into a Civil body politick for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of ye ends aforesaide and By Vertue hearof to enacte, constitute and frame such just and equall lawes, ordnances, Acts, constitutions and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye generall good of ye colonie. Unto which we promise a due submission and obedience."

These beginnings of Government in Virginia and in Massachusetts were by Englishmen who loved the great principles of English liberty which cost the people of England a struggle of nearly five hundred years to secure. And they also revered the common law. The Virginians were Church of England men and brought with them their Rector. The Pilgrims left England principally because they would have nothing to do with that Church or with a Government that supported it.

Little did these pioneers dream that the Three Hundredth Anniversary of their first attempts at Government would be celebrated by an independent nation of over One hundred millions of people possessing a territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, controlling a great ship canal which it had built connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific and possessed of wealth greater than that of any three nations in the world, a celebration participated in by Great Britain and Holland.

While it is true, as the historian Rhodes says (Rhodes' History of the United States, Vol. 3, p. 290), that Virginia's share in forming the Union was greater than that of any other State, it is also true that Massachusetts held the second place in that respect. Under such leadership, 157 years after the session of the first Legislative Assembly at Jamestown, there was brought about the Declaration of Independence followed by the working out of a plan of Government and the successful prosecution of a war for freedom.

When in 1774, the people of Boston threw into the harbor a shipment of tea and the King responded by closing the port, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and other famous Virginians of that day met at Raleigh Tavern and resolved to stand by Massachusetts, just as in the early part of March of 1772 those men with others met at the same place upon learning that the people of Rhode Island had burned the British war vessel "Gaspee" in Narragansett Bay, for which offense the Ministers of George the Third claimed the right to transport the accused from Rhode Island to England for trial. At that meeting they passed resolutions pledging Virginia to stand by Rhode Island and

creating a Committee of eleven to correspond with the other Colonies and concert measures for the general defense.

Jefferson, who in the month of June, 1774, took his seat as a member of the Continental Congress, presented in his own handwriting the Declaration of American Independence. It contained an indictment of the King of Great Britain on the subject of slavery which was not adopted by the Congress. It will be referred to a little later. Otherwise, the Declaration as drafted by him, after a debate in the Congress on three different days, was adopted, every member present signing it, except one.

Virginia contributed the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies in the struggle for freedom; the same man later, for our first President, one who in the judgment of the people, is first in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen.

After eight years of service by him, Massachusetts furnished the country with the Second President in the person of John Adams.

Three Virginia Presidents followed in succession, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. Then came John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Harrison and Tyler of Virginia succeeded Van Buren. And after Polk, Taylor of the same State became President. The last but not the least of Virginia's distinguished sons to achieve the presidency was Woodrow Wilson. Eight out of twenty-eight of our Presidents have been natives of Virginia.

With rightfully won leadership in the battle for freedom and in the formation of the Government, the people of Virginia have nevertheless been compelled to suffer as the people of no other State has suffered. This was due to slavery—slavery which was forced upon her against her will. Her people were seriously injured in the good opinion of the people of a large part of the United States, because writers, and many of them, attempted to and did create the belief that they were responsible for the seizure of black men in Africa and the bringing of them bound in chains to this country to wear out their lives here in the service of inhuman masters,—a most unjust charge—one that rankles in the breasts of the Virginians, both old and young, even to this day, for they know the truth.

The truth should also be known by all the rest of the people of the United States, not alone in order that simple justice may be done to old Virginia and her people, but also to the end that people of all portions of the country may be more closely united in affectionate esteem. We need now and shall always need the hearty co-operation of the descendants of the early Virginians and of the Pilgrims in steering our ship of state through the turbulent waters.

What I am to say to you to-day is not new. Every Virginian knows it. But it is new to the majority of the people of the country outside of Virginia. Indeed, my study of the subject was prompted by the reading of a book by the late Beverly Munford of Richmond.

All should know it for the general good.

A descendant of a Revolutionary soldier from Massachusetts, I feel that I may and should take the liberty of telling in outline the story of the vain effort of the Virginians to prevent the importation of slaves. It is a record the like of which no other State can boast. Bancroft says (Vol. 3, p. 409), that the people of Virginia were overruled on a subject of vital importance to themselves and their posterity. Their halls of legislation had resounded with eloquence directed against the terrible plague of negro slavery. * * * Again and again, they had passed laws restraining the importation of negroes from Africa. But their laws were disallowed by Great Britain; not only that, but after debate by the King and Council, the King issued on December 10, 1770, an instruction, commanding the Governor "Upon pain of the highest displeasure to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." * * *

Virginians thereupon resolved to appeal to the King himself for leave to defend themselves against this crime of avarice. This was done in these very words:

> "The importation of slaves into the Colonies from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity; and under its present encouragement we have too much reason to fear will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American Dominions. We are

> sensible that some of your Majesty's subjects in Great Britain may reap emoluments from this sort of traffic; but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the Colonies with more useful inhabitants and *may in time have the most destructive influence we* presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. Deeply impressed with these sentiments we most humbly beseech your Majesty to remove all those restraints on your Majesty's Governors of these Colonies which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce." (Bancroft, Vol. 3, p. 411.)

Poor Virginians: Wise was the prophecy of her great sons, that in time slavery might have the most destructive influence. But vain were her struggles against it.

Let me call your attention to some of the more prominent steps that were taken by the people of Virginia and her statesmen to end the importation of slaves into Virginia and also into the other Colonies, and later, into the States.

In 1619, a few slaves were brought into Virginia, but not until 1661 was the institution of slavery recognized in Virginia by statute law. (History of Slavery in Virginia, Ballagh, p. 34.) For a long period after the first introduction very few slaves were brought to Virginia and for two reasons: First, there was but little money with which to pay for them, and Second, because the overwhelming majority of the Virginian people were then and ever continued to be opposed to slavery. At the end of the first half century there were only some 2,000 slaves in the Colony. In 1770 Virginia through her House of Burgesses, protested against the introduction of African slaves. To that, the response of the King was "An instruction under his own hand commanding the Governor upon pain of the highest displeasure to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." (Bancroft, Vol. 3, p. 410.) This in turn led the House of Burgesses to make the appeal to the King which I have already quoted from Bancroft.

The King failing and refusing to use his power to end slavery,

in obedience to the request of the House of Burgesses, the People of Virginia started a movement in 1774 to induce all Virginians to agree that they would not buy the slaves which the slave traders, backed by the King of England, insisted upon bringing into Virginia. To that end, mass meetings were held in many of the Counties and appropriate resolutions adopted. The resolution of Fairfax County said in part:

> "We take the opportunity of declaring our most earnest wish to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel and unnatural trade." (DuBois, 43.)

In that same year and in the month of August, the Virginia Colonial Convention resolved as follows:

> "We will neither ourselves import, nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person, after the first day of November next, either from Africa, the West Indies or any other place." (DuBois, 43.)

On the 5th day of the following month, when the Continental Congress assembled for the first time, Virginia's delegates in that body submitted the memorial known as "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," in which the course of King George, the Third, was arraigned and the sentiments of Virginia declared in the following words:

> "For the most trifling reasons and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his Majesty has rejected laws of the most salutory tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in these colonies where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we had, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa. Yet our repeated request to effect this by prohibitions and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition have been hitherto defeated by his Majesty's intervention, thus preferring the immediate advantage of a few British Corsaires to the lasting interest of the loyal states and to the rights of human nature deeply wounded by this inhuman trade." (Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Ford), 1892, Vol. 1, p. 440.)

It makes the heart ache to read these words of protest by the Virginia representatives in the Continental Congress, knowing as we do, the horrible sufferings to which her people were later to be subjected for an evil forced upon her despite the efforts of her people and of her House of Burgesses and her Statesmen. Her representatives in the Continental Congress made strenuous efforts to secure the adoption of the "Non-Importation Agreement," in which there was a resolve to discontinue the slave trade and a pledge neither to "hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it." (Dubois, p. 45.)

The agreement to wage a boycott against importers of slaves which Virginia's representatives in the Continental Congress sought to bring into operation stimulated the "Folks at Home" to boycott purchasers of imported slaves. Vigilant Committees were formed over the State who adopted vigorous methods to accomplish that result. For example, here at Norfolk, the Committee found that in spite of the well understood sentiment of the community, a well-to-do merchant had purchased slaves from Jamaica. Thereupon, the Committee made a report to the public that we "hold up for your just indignation Mr. John Brown, merchant of this place * * * to the end * * * that every person may henceforth break off all dealings with him." (DuBois, 47.)

In the year 1776, but before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, Virginia adopted a written Constitution and Bill of Rights. The preamble to the Constitution dealt with the differences between Virginia and King George on the subject of importing slaves against its wish and despite the act prohibiting it which had been passed by Virginia's House of Burgesses. It declared that his action in perverting his kingly powers * * * into a detestable and insupportable tyranny by putting his negative on laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good", and again for "Prompting our negroes to rise in arms among us—those very negroes who by inhuman use of his negative he hath refused us permission to exclude by law." (Hening's Statutes, Vol. 9, pp. 112, 113.)

Other Colonies had already adopted Bills of Rights but Virginia was the very first to open with the declaration *"That All Men are by nature equally free and independent"*. This great truth, penned by Mason, was two months later expressed by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence in these words: *"That all men are created free and equal."* The proposed Declaration as framed by Jefferson and in his own handwriting and proposed by him to the Continental Congress contained in addition to the portion adopted by the Congress and made the Declaration of Independence, the following indictment of the King of Great Britain:

> "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating them and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce.
>
> "And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them by murdering the people on whom he has obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the leaders of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another." (Writings of Jefferson, Vol. 12, VII.)

The debate lasted three days, but the influence of South Carolina, Georgia and New England was sufficient to cause those words to be stricken out. And the Declaration was adopted as we now see it.

After Virginia's Declaration of Independence from British rule, her General Assembly passed in 1778 an act providing that "no slaves shall hereafter be imported into this commonwealth by sea or land nor shall any slaves so imported be sold or bought by any person whatsoever". The statute further imposed a fine of one thousand pounds for each slave imported, and five hun-

dred pounds upon any person buying or selling any such slave. It also declared that any slave "shall upon such importation become free." (Hening's Statutes, Vol. 9, p. 471. M 25.)

When on March 1, 1784, Virginia's deed of cession of the great Northwest territory was accepted by the Continental Congress, Mr. Jefferson reported the bill prepared by him known as the "Ordinance of 1784". The Ordinance provided not only for many of the governmental needs of this large territory, but declared that after the year 1800 slavery should never exist in any portion of the vast domain west of a line drawn North and South between Lake Erie and the Spanish Dominions of Florida. It received the votes of but six States and Mr. Jefferson's two colleagues voted against the Ordinance. This was a matter of great grief to him and led him to write in a letter to M. de Munier: "The voice of a single individual of the State which was divided or one of those which were of the negative would have prevented this abominable crime from spreading itself over the new country. Thus, we see the fate of millions unborn hanging on the tongue of one man and heaven was silent in that awful moment." (Writings of Jefferson (Ford), Vol. 4, p. 181, M. 27.)

Three years later, however, the Ordinance of 1787 was enacted into law and Fiske says that "No one was more active in bringing about this result than William Grayson of Virginia, who was earnestly supported by Lee." (Critical Period of American History (Fiske), p. 205, M. 27.)

Mr. Bancroft says:

> "Thomas Jefferson first summoned Congress to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States; Rufus King lifted up the measure when it lay almost lifeless on the ground and suggested the immediate instead of the prospective prohibition; a Congress composed of five Southern States to one from New England, and two from the Middle States headed by William Grayson supported by Richard Henry Lee and using Nathan Dane as scribe, carried the measure to the goal in the amended form in which King had caused it to be referred to a Committee; and, as Jefferson had proposed, placed it under the sanction of an irrevocable compact." (Bancroft's U. S. H., Vol. 6, p. 290, M. 27.)

As the Ordinance passed contained many provisions not set out in Virginia's deed of cession, it became necessary that Virginia should by a proper enactment reaffirm her deed. This she did through the action of her general Assembly at its next session.

Virginia therefore bore a leading part in the legislative work by which slavery was forever prohibited in the vast territory north of the Ohio River, a territory which she had won from England and the Indians. (Bancroft, Vol. 6, pp. 290, 291.)

In the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution in 1787 when the question of permitting further importation of slaves was under discussion, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, said: "This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants." The British Government constantly checked the attempt of Virginia to put a stop to it. Maryland and Virginia had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly and North Carolina had done the same in substance. He was supported by Luther Martin, of Maryland, whereupon Gouverneur Morris adverted to the circumstances that the sixth section of the same article then under consideration contained a provision "That no Navigation Act should pass without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in each House", a provision especially affecting the interests of the New England States and he suggested that this section together with the fourth and fifth should be referred to the Committee. The suggestion was adopted and an agreement reached by the Committee to recommend the extension of the slave trade to 1800 and striking out the provisions requiring a two-thirds vote to an Act of Navigation Law. The report being read in Convention, General Pinckney of South Carolina, moved to extend the slave trade to 1808, which motion was seconded by Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, Mr. Madison, of Virginia, afterward President of the United States, earnestly opposed the motion declaring it to be dishonorable to the American character. But his opposition was in vain. The motion prevailing by the vote of all the New England States together with South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland and North Carolina. Voting against it were the States of Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware.

Josiah Parker, of Virginia, in the first session of the Congress under the Constitution, held in April, 1789, sought to amend the Tariff Bill by inserting a clause levying an import tax of Ten Dollars upon every slave brought into the country. He was supported by Theodoric Bland and James Madison, afterwards President, the latter declaring "By expressing a national disappropriation of that trade it is to be hoped we may destroy it and so save ourselves from reproach and our posterity from the imbecility ever attendant on a country filled with slaves. (Annals of Congress, Vol. 1, Col. 336.)

This effort was not successful, but it resulted in numerous petitions to the next session of Congress from Virginia and Maryland and from almost every one of the Northern States. In the Virginia petition, the slave trade was declared to be "An outrageous violation of one of the most essential rights of human nature". (DuBois, 80.)

In his message to Congress in 1806-7 President Jefferson said in part:

> "I congratulate you fellow citizens on the approach of a period at which you may interpose your authority constitutionally to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in those violations of the human rights which have so long been continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa which the morality, the reputation and the best interests of our country have long been eager to prescribe."

The Congress passed an Act Prohibiting the Slave Trade and imposing forfeitures and fines upon ships and ship crews engaged in the traffic. But while by reason of the Act, the traffic in slaves was somewhat lessened, it still continued.

James Madison, of Virginia, who succeeded Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States, in a message to Congress of December 5, 1810, declared:

> "Among the commercial abuses still committed under the American flag * * * it appears that American citizens are instrumental in carrying on the traffic in enslaved Africans equally in violation of the laws of humanity and in defiance of those of their own country."

And urged Congress to devise further means for suppressing the evil.

He again brought the subject to the attention of Congress in a message dated December 3, 1816.

In the course of 1819 under the leadership of Charles Fenton Mercer and John Floyd of Virginia, a Bill was passed amending the statute so as to require the President to use armed cruisers off the coast of Africa and America to suppress the trade and providing for the immediate return to Africa of any imported slaves, and appropriating One hundred thousand Dollars to carry out the general purposes of the law. (Annals of Congress, 15th Congress, second section, part 1.)

President Monroe, of Virginia, succeeded President Madison and he submitted in a special message to Congress dated May 21, 1824, a Treaty with Great Britain which accorded "A search for slaves on vessels of the United States in return for a like privilege to Great Britain." This treaty he supported with vigor; stating therein "That should this proposition be adopted, there is every reason to believe that it will be the commencement of a system destined to accomplish the entire abolition of the slave trade." The ratification of this treaty, however, was unfortunately defeated in the Senate.

Another resident of Virginia who became President, John Tyler, addressed two messages to the Congress upon the slave trade, appealing for amendments to the existing laws so as to give them greater force and efficiency, in one of which he said: "That the American flag is grossly abused by the abandoned and profligate of other nations is but too probable."

In 1842 in the preparation of the Ashburton Treaty he secured the insertion of a clause providing for the maintenance and co-operation of squadrons of the United States and Great Britain off the coast of Africa for the suppression of the trade. (Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. 2, p. 219.)

And still another citizen of Virginia, on becoming President of the United States, Zachary Taylor, appealed to Congress in a message under date of December 4, 1849, for an "Amendment of our existing laws relating to the African slave trade with a view

to the effectual suppression of that barbarous traffic." He also said "It is not to be denied that it is still in part carried on by means of vessels in the United States and owned or navigated by some of our citizens."

Thus, we see that six of the citizens of Virginia who became Presidents of the United States were most active in their efforts against slavery.

I have already referred to the legislative action of Virginia, while a Colony, against slavery, calling your attention to the Act of 1778 passed after her Declaration of Independence in which the importation of slaves was prohibited. Other legislation tending in the same general direction includes the Act of 1782 passed by the General Assembly of Virginia, by the terms of which slave-holders were authorized to emancipate their slaves by deed or will duly made and recorded. This was contrary to the British rule, which forbade slave-holders from manumitting their slaves except with the permission of the Council. (Hening's Statutes, Vol. 4, p.. 132, M. 41.)

Three years later and in 1785, the General Assembly passed an Act providing that slaves brought into the State and remaining there twelve months should be free.

In 1787 the General Assembly passed Validating Acts covering attempts at manumissions by wills which were executed prior to 1782.

The General Assembly also passed an Act in 1788 making the enslaving of the child of free blacks a crime punishable by death upon the scaffold.

In 1795 it enacted that a slave might sue *in forma pauperis* in any court for the purpose of settling the question of his right to freedom. Under that Act he was authorized to make complaint to the nearest Magistrate or Court and the owner was required to give bond to permit the slave to attend the next term of the court and maintain his rights.

The effect of these and other Acts together with the general desire on the part of most of the people was to stimulate manumissions.

There were three thousand free negroes in Virginia at the

close of the Revolution. Ten years later, there were thirteen thousand. The Census of 1810 showed them to number 30,570. This large number of free negroes led to statutory amendments requiring slaves who were freed to go out of the State. Many well-to-do Virginians thereafter provided by will that their respective Trustees should take the negroes to a State named therein and buy each family a farm and give them a stipulated sum of money with which to start. But they were not welcomed in any State. Indeed, they were told to go back to Virginia where they and their ancestors were brought in spite of the protest of the great majority of the good people of Virginia. That this is so, is shown not only by legislative and political action by the people as well as the leaders of Virginia to which some reference has been made by me today, but also by the United States Census of the year 1860. Therein it appears that the white population of Virginia was 1,047,299 and the number of slave-holders was 52,128. Thus, out of a population of over one million, only some 52,000 were slave-holders.

Zealous men in the North and particularly in New England who were ignorant of Virginia's history and had never heard of her great efforts against slavery were in the thirty years preceding 1860, vigorously engaged in assaulting not only slavery and slave-holders, but also the morality and civilization of every State in which there were slaves and slave-owners. It was not possible for the majority of the people of such a State as Virginia, with a record in all respects as to slavery unsurpassed by any Colony or any State, to do otherwise than to resent the untruthful assaults made upon her.

It is not too late to attempt to contribute as large a measure of justice as the situation will permit.

That effort should be made now, and if it shall be, it will wonderfully help toward that unity of effort for the public good that ought to inspire the people of the two sections of our country from whence came the beginnings of Government in the United States: Virginia and Massachusetts.

Massachusetts has my filial and profound respect and regard. But Virginia, the fair and fertile; the first spot on this conti-

nent that an Anglo-Saxon called "home"; the land which gave the immortal Washington to a grateful country; the soil from which sprang so many leaders in the creation of our Government, so large a number of our foremost soldiers and statesman; the "Mother of Presidents"; the cornerstone of our free Government—when I remember your patriotism and loyalty, your scars of battle and your dismemberment, your early opposition to slavery and your later suffering from this serpent which had been thrust into your bosom in spite of your repeated protests, my heart and soul go out in profound love and respect to the sunny hills and fertile valleys, to the great and noble community known in history and romance as the "Old Dominion."

LETTERS OF BEILBY PORTEUS AND JOHN BLAIR RELATIVE TO THE BRAFFERTON ESTATE.

(From the Dawson Papers, Library of Congress.)

London, March 18, 1758.

Dear Sir.

You will before this have recd. a Letter from me & another from your Son, desiring your assistance in procuring an appointment to the Stewardship of Brafferton in Yorkshire (now vacant by my Fathers Resignation) for my Brother-in-Law Mr. Edward Thompson of Helperby in the same County did not then, for want of time & proper information, explain to you the particular reasons of this request, nor the perplexity which has been thrown upon the affair by indiscretion on the one hand & artifice on the other. But being now at London, where I have endeavourd by the opportunities & lights afforded me to make myself perfect master of the Subject, I shall lay before you what I have been able to learn in relation to it, divesting myself entirely of all partiality & private attachments give you what I really think to be the true and real State of the Case.

The Estate at Brafferton in Yorkshire belongs as you know to the College in Virginia. My Father has had the care of it for many years; A Trust, which he had executed with so much fidelity & honour, that the College gave him the liberty of appointing his Successor after his Death or resignation. This was found out by one Hind an attorney at Ripon in Yorkshire, whom my Father unluckily employ'd in Law-Affairs, & lately too as Steward of the Manor-Courts which are held at Brafferton. This man, as I said having found out that my Father had the power of naming his Successor, & observing that age & Infirmity now grew upon him so fast that he must quickly be incapable of going through the Trouble of the Stewardship; found means to draw from my Father a recommendation of him to Mr. Hanbury who is Agent for the College, as a proper person to be the Steward of Brafferton. The word Steward is an ambiguous term, & my Father says he only meant to recommend him as Steward of the Courts, & not of the

Estate. That is to have him *continued* Steward of the Courts even after my Father had resigned the Stewardship of the Estate to another. However that may be, the words will fairly bear an interpretation favourable to Mr. Hind's pretensions & therefore I lay no stress on this plea. I am rather apt to think that my Father either does not remember what he wrote or what he intended, or that he did not at the time consider what he was doing. And I am the more inclined to this opinion, because the Letter recommending Hind (The original of which is in Mr. Hanbury's possession which I have seen) is wrote by Mr. Hind's own hand, & only sign'd by my Father, whose faculties are now so much impair'd by Age & infirmity, that I am not much surpriz'd at his being prevaild on by a plausible designing Man to set his Name without much deliberation to that paper. A Copy of this Letter Mr. Hanbury has transmitted to the College, & you will there see that My Father mentions Hind (or rather Hind mentions himself) as a person of Integrity & proper for the Stewardship. I do believe that Hind had by little Services & great obsequiousness insinuated himself into my Father's good graces. But whatever his Opinion might then be, whether well or ill-grounded, he has since had the utmost reason to alter it. Mr. Hind upon this recommendation procur'd from Mr. Hanbury an appointment to the Stewardship, & prevailed upon my Father to resign the Stewardship, reserving to him the Salary for Life which he forsaw must be a very short time. No sooner were the Papers deliver'd up to him, than he began to act in the most arbitrary Tyrannical manner, gave notice to some of the best Tenants to leave their Farms, appointed the rect. Day a month sooner than it us'd to be, & Troubled Mr. Thompson my Brother in Law whose House is contiguous to Brafferton, in so outrageous a manner that if his Injuries are continued, Mr. Thompson will be oblig'd to quit the place. My Father upon this wrote to Mr. Hanbury, who desir'd him to resume the Stewardship till an appointment came from the College; But Hind refus'd to give up the Papers, & continues to act as Steward. It is therefore now my Father's most earnest request, that the College will displace Mr. Hind, & appoint Mr. Edward Thompson of Helperby

in the County of York, Gentleman, to be Steward of the Estate & Manor of Brafferton. To which request he is not induc'd by views of interest (for Hind had reserv'd to him the Salary for Life). But because he is now convinc'd (what every body beside himself was convinc'd of long ago) that Mr. Hind is a most improper man to have the management of the Estate, & that Mr. Thompson is every way perfectly qualified for that Trust. To convince you of this I will only give you a short sketch of the characters of these two Gentlemen, & leave you to draw the Inference. Were I to repeat to you every thing that I have heard in regard to Hind, you would not hesitate a moment in your opinion, but as I would always wish to be of the charitable side, even when it makes against myself; I will only observe to you, that in general it seems very imprudent to commit the care of Estates, whose owners are at a Distance, to attorneys, especially to an artfull, self-interested, litigious attorney, which I do assure you is speaking of H--d in the softest terms. His Sole Aim seems the amassing of money which has involv'd him in continual Lawsuits that have not added any reputation to his Character. Mr. Thompson is a Gentleman of 3 or 400 £ a year, who has no profession or private End to serve, lives contiguous to Brafferton, is remarkable for the strictest Integrity & Honour & does not desire the Stewardship for the profits of it, which are very inconsiderable, but merely to preserve himself from the Trouble of so injurious a Neighbour as Hind, or of any other Person, who may endeavour to disturb him in his retirement.

Upon the whole I see some infirmity & indiscretion on the side of my Father, but much Art & cunning on the side of Mr. Hind; And you will, I dare say, agree with me in thinking that a Fault in the Head, especially in an aged Head, is much more pardonable than a fault in the Heart; But supposing that nothing of this had happen'd & that Hind was now actually Steward of the Estate, I should out of regard to the College (supposing the Persons indifferent to me) desire to have the Estate entrusted in other hands. I would not for the sake of the nearest relation I have in the World, either do myself or desire you to do a wrong or ungenerous thing; but abstracting from all private attach-

ments & Family considerations, I do protest to you upon the word of a Gentleman & a Clergyman, that in recommending Mr. Thompson & excluding Mr. Hind you will do the greatest piece of Service that can be done to the College. The value of the thing is trifling, not above 20 £ a year, but what makes me so earnest in it is that Mr. Hind by being Steward of the Estate & Manor of Brafferton has it in his Power (& he never wants the inclination) to plague & disturb Mr. Thompson in a thousand instances, & as this has happen'd by the inadvertence of my Father it may possibly create some uneasiness in the Family, wch would give me the utmost concern. The College may perhaps think that Mr. Thompson when he has got the Stewardship into his hands may out of Revenge Plague Hind, as Hind has done him. But this cannot be the case, because Mr. Hind lives at a Distance, 8 or 9 miles, from Brafferton, so that the Stewardship of that Estate, let it be in whose Hands it will, can never affect him, whereas Mr. Thompson is upon the Spot, & exposed to innumerable inconveniences from any Steward of Brafferton that chuses to be troublesome. However as the removal of Hind is the most essential Point both in regard to the Quiet of Mr. Thompson, & the interest of the College. If the College think proper to appoint in his Room any other Person, rather than Mr. Thompson (though I declare solemnelly I know none more proper) I would beg leave to recommend to them My Brother Mr. Edward Porteus of York, who is desirous of it in case Mr. Thompson should resign or die; or for the reason above suggested be thought improper by the College. I only mention this to you in private, wch you need not take any notice of, unless that objection to Mr. Thompson (which as I have shewn is really none at all) should be started by the College. I must desire that if Mr. Thompson be appointed or whoever is appointed in the room of Hind it may be done in the most cautious manner; For if Hind can possibly find out any Flaw in the appointment by all quirks and cavils of the Law he will do it. I suppose they know the Form of appointing a Steward or receiver of the Estate; it must be I apprehend conceiv'd in some such words as these, that they do constitute & appoint Edward Thompson of Helperby in the County of York, Gentleman; Ste-

ward, Receiver of the Rents & entire manager of the Estate at Brafferton in the said County; at the same time utterly excluding William Hind attorney at Law of Ripon in the County of York from any share in the management of it or receiving the Rents thereof:—

As I look upon you to be our principal Friend in managing this affair, I have chose to explain the whole case to you at large, in order to give you a thorough knowledge of the Subject. You will not however communicate to others any more of the contents of this Letter than is absolutely necessary to assure the success of our negotiation. Particularly what I have said in regard to Hind's character (though I am sincerely persuaded of the Truth of that & much more) yet I should be unwilling to prejudice him in the opinion of others, as my desire is not to do harm to him, but to prevent him from doing harm to others. Add to this, that as he is the most litigious man upon Earth, if he could prove that I had said any thing derogatory to his reputation (However true it may be, or however fully I could prove it) yet he might have it in his Power to give me a good deal of Trouble & bring me into disputes wholly opposite to my Temper & manner of Life. I must desire therefore that He or His Friends (if he has any in the province) may never have an oppertunity of getting this Letter or a Copy of it into their possession, or of taking any advantage from it against me.

You will excuse me for being thus prolix in regard to an affair which I confess I have much at heart, & which I most earnestly desire you to promote with all your credit & authority. I have just room to add a word or two in relation to your Son. I have acquainted your Son with your desire that he should spend another year in College, in which he very readily acquiesc'd, & will I dare say stay in it with more pleasure than many leave it. If he had happen'd to come at this time, I could have taken him as my own pupil, the engagements, which prevented me at first being now at an end, & all my old Pupils on the Point of going, after staying with me three years. I am therefore now at Liberty to take any of your particular Friends that you would wish to have under the care of an acquaintance. Mr. Nelson's Son will shortly

come to our College under my care. You will not however have the least reason to lament that your Son was admitted under Mr. Barker, who, I must say, has executed his Trust with the utmost entegrity and Honour. This will come to you by Mr. Ambler, to whom I refer you for further particulars, He knows Mr. Thompson & the whole state of the case, & will confirm to you every syllable I have said.

I am Dear Sir, most Sincerely & affectionately
Yours B. Porteus.[1]

Wmsburg 25th June 1760.

Dear Sir;

I have perused all the Papers relative to the Brafferton Affair with as much Care and Attention as their Prolixity and Dullness would admit of: And I cannot but think upon the whole that not only Thompson the present Steward but his Predecessors too have customarily made greater advantages of that office, than they would have openly appear. Messrs Hanbury, I find, wrote Mr. Porteus that he thought he ought to render an Acct. of what his Father, R. Porteus, had rec'd & did not acct. for in his Life Time, he accordingly renders an acct. acknowledges a small Bala. due, & at the same Time mentions some other Profits his Father had recd. from the Wood &c, which he looked upon as Part of his usual Perquisites, and therefor had not accounted for, but of wch (if insisted on) he would make an Acct. This would make it perhaps worth while to consider, whether it would not be as

[1]Beilby Porteus was born at York, England, May 8, 1731, the youngest but one of the nineteen children of Robert Porteus of New Bottle, Gloucester County, Virginia. His father and mother were natives of Virginia. His mother was the daughter of Edmund Jennings. The father left Virginia for England in 1720, and settled at York. Beilby Porteus became bishop of London in 1787. After the Revolution, through the influence of Beilby Porteus, the College of William and to the religious education of the negroes in the West Indies. There may have been some personal reason for this action. See the note on the Porteus family in the WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY, volume 3, pages 38, 39.

[illegible] with their Deputy for a certain Sum (suppose more than has hitherto been allowed) and take from him all Perquisites whatever, as there is no Possibility of knowing how much they make under that secret Article. I must believe it to be very considerable, since the two Competitors for the office are one of 'em a Gentleman of Fortune and in that Respect [illegible] to the Approbation of Messrs. Hanbury by his Friends, & the other an attorney at Law. Now, can it be thought that a Gentn. of considerable Fortune, or an Attr. who generally knows how to employ his Time pretty advantageously in the Law-Way, would make such busy Interest for an office of twenty Pounds per year, which I find is their allowed Salary? There are other circumstances (which it is not worth while to mention) that corroborate this Suspicion. As this then is the Case, I cannot esteem it inconsistant either with Justice or Honor to give that Power to Messrs Hanbury they desire. As to the appointing of a Deputy (who they desire may be nominated by the P. M^rs^).[1] I cannot from the Letters I have seen, conceive that either of the Persons who have been tried are proper for that Trust. I observe that young Mr. Porteus (now the Revd) applies to Messrs Hanbury in case of another Vacancy to be appointed himself (he was then soliciting for his Father in Opposition to Hinds) I don't know whether he may not since that Time have procured a Benefice, & if so whether it may not have removed him too far from the Brafferton Estate to be a fit Manager of it; otherwise from the small Acquaintance I had with him, I should suppose him from his Activity and Probity to be a very proper person unless his Profession may be thought inconsistent, but of that the Gentn. of the College are better Judges. But I don't know whether after all it wd. not be as good a Way as any to leave the Deputation intirely to Messrs. Hanbury; As they are on the Spot, they have a better oppertunity of knowing the most eligible Person. As to the calling the late Stewards to a strict Acct. Messrs. Hanbury must be the best Judges, as that will depend upon the Proof that can be made of their Mal-Administration: The Information of Jack-

[1] President and Masters.

son is very strong if he would stand to what he says. This man is turned out of his Farm for no other Reason I believe than his having given Messrs Hanbury Intelligence of what no honest man could have suppressed, & that too under a Promise on their Part that he should lose nothing by it: for wch Reason I think he ought to have Restitution. There are some Complts. agst. him, but the Accusers seem to be the Partizans of Thompson intirely; an indifferent Person speaks well of him. I have been this Week under Engagement to go this Day to Mr. Cary & from thence to Gloster Court tomorrow & so up to Mr. Braxton's where I must be two Days afterwards to attend a Survey for Mr. Braxton on a disputed Title of his for wch Reason I hope my Attendance on the Meeting tomorrow may be dispensed with, as I take the Liberty of sending to you such Papers as I judge may be wanted: I am yr. most hble Serv't

J Blair junr.

MINUTES OF THE COLLEGE FACULTY, 1758.

The copy of the Minutes of the Faculty for the years 1729 to 1784, is in the College Library. The Minutes have been printed in volumes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 13, 14, and 15 of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*. The Minutes printed below were found among the Dawson Papers in the Library of Congress. For some reason they were never entered in the official minute book, and are now printed, we believe, for the first time.

William & Mary College, February 13th, 1758. Present, The Revd. Wm. Dawson President, & Mr. Jones Master of the Indian School. This day the President of the College & Emmanuel Jones Master of the Indian-School (the other Masters of the College being lately depriv'd by the Visitors) met in the College in Obedience to the Order of the Visitors of the 7th Instant, and having sent for Mr. Robinson, & Mr. Graham, (Mr. Camm being absent) demanded of them that they remove from the College, & deliver up the Keys of their Schools, & Appartments, which they absolutely refus'd to do. The President likewise demanded of Mr. Graham the Seal, & Papers belonging to the College, which he also refus'd to deliver; Whereupon the Housekeeper, and the Steward of the College were severally directed to observe & perform what was respectively requir'd of them, & had the Substance of the Order of the Visitors fully deliver'd to them in Writing, as follows.

Whereas the Visitors & Governors of the College at their meeting held the 7th Instant, did amongst other Things order that Mr. Robinson, Mr. Graham, & Mr. Camm, late Masters, do immediately remove from the College; and that the President & Masters use all proper Methods for their Removal, by directing the Housekeeper not to supply them with any Provisions; the Servants not to obey their Orders; & other Measures in their said Order appointed. In Obedience thereto, We do hereby require you the Housekeeper, to take due Notice thereof for so much as relates to your Charge in the College, & to conform yourself accordingly. Given under our Hands this 13th Day of February 1758.

Thomas Dawson President.
Emmanuel Jones.

Resolved, That Mr. Graham be desired to lay the College accounts before the President & Masters, in Order to have them examined,

Tuesday, February 14th, 1758. Present as yesterday.

This Day the President & Emmanuel Jones demanded of Mr. Camm if he would deliver the Keys of his School & Appartments, & remove from the College pursuant to the Order of the Visitors; but he refus'd & answer'd that he did not think the President, & one Master had Power to call upon him by the said Order, it being to the President & Masters.

Whereupon Mr. Robinson, & Mr. Graham being also call'd in, the President, & Emmanuel Jones, in Presence of Mr. Davenport, Writing Master, Mr. Nicolson, Steward & Gardiner, & Mrs. Clayton, Housekeeper, whom they call'd in to be Witnesses, requir'd of Mr. Robinson, Mr. Graham & Mr. Camm, forthwith to remove, & take away from the College, all their Effects of all kinds; & that if they did not, They must according to the Directions of the Visitors & Governors use Force & violent Measures. To all which Mr. Robinson, & Mr. Graham answer'd as yesterday, & Mr. Camm as above.

Resolv'd that the President consult some eminent Lawyers for Advice as to their future Conduct in this affair.

Resolved, that Mr. Daniel Fisher be appointed Surveyor of the County of Southampton.

Resolved, that Mr. Clement Reade Junr, be appointed Surveyor of the County of Halifax, in the Room of Co. Peter Fontaine, who has resign'd.

March, [8] 1758 Present as before.

Resolved, That Mr. John Palmer be appointed Bursar to the College, that he give Security according to the Statutes, and that an Advertisement to that Purport be printed in the Gazette.

March 13, 1758—The President did this Day desire & require of Mr. Graham, that he would, according to the Statutes, lay his

accounts before the President and Masters, in Order to have them examined, To which he received no direct or explicit Answer; but only in general,

That he would go about them, when the Weather was warmer.

That he should be ready against there was a Society to examine them.

And that he did not allow Mr. Davis to be a Master.

March 23, 1758. The President sent to Mr. Robinson, and desired the Keys of the Grammar Master's Apartments, in order to put Mr. Owen in Possession of them: Mr. Robinson refused, and said, that nobody had a better Right to these Chambers than himself.

Upon which Refusal, the President ordered Hasps with Staples & Padlocks to be put upon the Doors of the several Apartments, & Schools, and two new Locks upon the Wicket Doors.

NOTES RELATING TO SOME OF THE STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY 1753-1770.

Many of the records prior to 1827, from which it might be possible to compile an accurate list of the students, have been lost or destroyed. It is not likely that a correct list of these early students can ever be compiled, at least not for many years, until much collateral material on Colonial Virginia has been discovered. The list as given in the History of the College published in 1874 is known to be incomplete, and to contain many inaccuracies. These inaccuracies have crept into the printed biographical sketches of those students who became prominent in state and national affairs, and have caused much confusion.

The main authorities for names of students in the Colonial period are the Faculty Book of Minutes, from 1729 to 1784, and three Bursar's books, 1753 to 1777, which are imperfect, and which are only a part of the account books of the period. In the bursar's books are found the board bills of the students, who lived at the College, with the inclusive dates. Due to the imperfection of the books preserved, and the loss of others, the inclusive dates of board charged cannot be found for all students. In the case of some students who were in attendance, the items we have in the books are statements of cash payments only, with no indication of inclusive dates of board bill. It is highly probably that such payments were for board immediately preceding the date of payment. But this may not have been true in all instances. A payment may have been made in 1759, for a board bill that accumulated in 1756. In the notes here presented, whenever the inclusive dates of board charged are given by the bursar, they are printed, without other statement. We can ask for no better proof of a student's attendance than the inclusive dates of the board bill. But when in the notes below a statement occurs of a cash payment, or of money due at a certain date, it must not be accepted as conclusive evidence that the student attended in that year. It is proof that he was a student, but nothing more.

Due to the incompleteness of the records these notes are tentative, and subject to revision. They are printed now with the expectation that they will be of help in solving some biographical and genealogical problems, and, as a provisional list for this period, may be helpful later in the compilation of a catalog of all the students at the College.

The following are explanations of notes about Thomas Adams, Hudson Allen, and Jaquelin Ambler. They are illustrative of the others:

Thomas Adams paid a board bill of £14, on Oct. 18, 1756. As the yearly cost for board was £13, this would indicate an attendance of nearly 13 months, presumably in 1756, but until further proof is found, the year of attendance cannot be determined.

Hudson Allen was charged for board from Mar. 25, 1756-Dec. 16, 1757, and again from June 8, 1760 to Mar. 25, 1762. He was therefore in attendance in those periods.

Jaquelin Ambler paid £13, on Aug. 14, 1753, Aug. 13, 1754, July 11, 1755, and July 15, 1756. Presumably present from Aug. 14, 1752 to July 15, 1756, but exact dates cannot be determined.

Adams, Thomas.	Board paid Oct. 18, 1756, £14.
Allen, Hudson.	Mar. 25, 1756-Dec. 16, 1757.
	June 8, 1760-Mar. 25, 1762.
Allen, William.	Board paid May 10, 1756. £7/15/0.
Ambler, Jaquelin	Board paid Aug. 14, 1753, £13.
	Aug. 13, 1754, £13.
	July 11, 1755, £13.
	July 15, 1756, £13.
Armistead, Bowles.	June 14, 1761-Dec. 16, 1765.
Armistead, James.	Admitted foundationer on Assembly foundation Apr. 26, 1753.
	The record makes clear that he was a student up to Mar. 25, 1755. Probably afterwards also.
Armistead, John, of Gloster	Secy Nelson and D. Digges, guardians.
	July 31, 1755-May 24, 1756.
Armistead, Robert	Board paid Nov. 15, 1753, £12.
	Board due Mar. 25, 1754, £13. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £6/18/8.
Armistead, Starkey	Jan. 20, 1761-Mar. 25, 1764.
	Bursar's note: "He was at college 5½ years." He was probably present 2' years succeeding Mar. 25, 1764, tho there is no proof except the above statement that he was at college 5½ years.

Armistead, Westwood	Ap. 3, 1761-Feb. 4, 1763.
Armistead, Wm. of Gloster.	Secy Nelson and D. Digges, guardians. July 31, 1755-May 24, 1756.
Aylett, John	June 6, 1757-March 17, 1758. Mr. Philip Claiborne put him to college; he says Mr. Nat. Dandridge was his guardian.
Ballard, Wm.	Feb. 29, 1759 to Feb. 29, 1760. Due March 25, 1754, £8/13/4. Due March 25, 1755, £4/16/8.
Bland, Edward	July 24, 1760-Dec. 16, 1763.
Bland, John	Present in 1756. Date of payment of board indistinct.
Bland, Peter	Board paid Sep. 13, 1756, £65. Probably a student for five years before this date. He was present in 1754 and 1755, at least.
Bland, William	July 24, 1758-July 25, 1763. He was present in 1756, but statement in bursar's book is indistinct.
Bland, Theoderick	Due Mar. 25, 1754, 15 shillings.
Barrett, William	May 27, 1755-Aug. 7, 1756. Query: If this be Mr. William Barrett, of the ferry, he says he boarded always in town while at college.
Battaile, Lawrence.	Oct. 29, 1753-June 10, 1756. Col. Ben. Grymes his guardian.
Berkely, Edward	Board paid November 6, 1755, £15/10/0.
Bolling, Archibald	Sep. 16, 1761-Mar. 24, 1765.
Bolling, Edward	Sep. 16, 1761-Dec. 16, 1763.
Bradby, Jones	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £9/15/0. Board paid Jan. 20, 1755, £14/19/4.
Bradley, James	Board paid May 31, 1763, £13/0/0.
Bradley, John Whitall	About July 1, 1762-Dec 8, 1764.
Braxton, Geo. and Carter	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £16/9/2. Due Mar. 25, 1755,£9/15/0. Board paid May 7, 1756, £94/13/9.

Broadnax, Wm.	March 17, 1760-Mar. 17, 1761. He remained to June 25, 1761, but was not charged as some part of the previous year the college was closed.
Brooking, Vivion	Assembly foundation scholar, Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Browne, Wm.	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £8/6/2. Board paid, May 13, 1754, £10/16/8.
Browne, William	Son of Harry Browne decd. On Mar. 25, 1769 charged with board for 2 years and 12 days, but the bursar queries whether it might not be 1 year and 12 days.
Bryan, Benjamin	Jan. 27, 1755-Nov. 17, 1755.
Buckner, Wm.	Apr. 23, 1759-Ap. 23, 1760.
Burwell, Carter	Oct. 17, 1765 to April 24, 1766. He paid board for a short time after this date, not specified. There is a later entry for Board from April 6, 1769 to March 25, 1770.
Burwell, John	Mar. 24, 1760 to July 28, 1760.
Burwell, Lewis	Mar. 24, 1760-July 28, 1760. There is also an entry for board for 229 days in 1761 or before, but date is not stated.
Burwell, Natl	Col. Carter's son. May 7, 1759-Ap. 24, 1766. Mar. 25, 1768-Mar. 25, 1769. Apr. 6, 1769-Ap. 6, 1770.
Burwell, Natl.	Col. Robt's son. Ap. 28, 1756-Dec. 16, 1757. Feb. 28, 1759-Mar. 25, 1765.
Byrd, George	Carter Braxton was his guardian Mar. 25, 1763-Dec. 16, 1763. Due March 25, 1763, £37/11/6.
Byrd, John	March 9, 1768 to March 25, 1770.
Byrd, Thomas	March 9, 1768 to April 15. 1769.

Calvert, Maximilian	Son of Maxn. Calvert, Norfolk. Feb. 2, 1770-to March 25, 1770.
Carter,	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £17/16/2.
Charles & Edward	Board paid Nov. 6, 1753, £41/9/4.
Cary, John	His brother was Richard Cary. No date of board bill. He paid £2/2/0 on Dec. 5, 1761.
Cary, Wilson	Board paid Apr. 30, 1753, £15/10/0. Ap. 30, 1754, £11/12/16. Nov. 18, 1755, £15/10/0. Oct. 26, 1757 £15/10/0. For some of this time board for his servant included.
Clugh, William	Ap. 25, 1763 to Mar. 25, 1764. He was admitted foundationer March 26th, 1764. This acct. was not paid, and the bursar has a note, "Mr. Jones thinks it must be Sam'l Klug the late usher."
Cobbs, Samuel	Board paid, Aug. 10, 1754, £13/—/—. Due Mar. 25, 1754, £10. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £13.
Cocke, John	Son of Col. Richard Cocke in Surry. Feb. 16,-March 25, 1770.
Cole, Walter King	Apr. 22, 1766 to Aug. 7, 1769.
Cole, Wm.	Sep. 9, 1759-July 17, 1760.
Coles, Walter	Board paid, June 3, 1755, £13. Due Mar. 25, 1754, £11/14/9. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £13/0/0.
Collier, Locky	"Col. Tabb. of Eliz. City was his guardian. Query: If Mr. Wythe was not?" Boarded a year at college presumably in 1762 & 1763.
Collins, Nicholas	Board paid Dec. 21, 1757, £5/8/4.
Colson, William	June 3, 1763-May 18, 1765.
Cooke, Augustine	Aug. 7, 1753-Oct. 4, 1757. "Estate of Rev. Mr. Fox is to pay this acct."
Cooke, Mordecai	Jan. 7, 1760-Ap. 3, 1762.

Cooke, Wm. Indian.	March 25, 1753-March 25, 1755.
Copland, David	Col. Richard Randolph his guardian.
	Board to Dec. 12, 1767, when he left.
	His guardian charged him with board about 2 years and ¼, £29/5/0.
Dickson, Beverley	Aug. 19, 1760-Mar. 25, 1764.
Digges, Cole	Feb. 28, 1759-Mar. 25, 1765.
Digges, Wm.	Apr. 26, 1759-Ap. 26, 1760.
Dixon,	Sons of Rev. Mr. Dixon.
William & Thomas	Each Jan. 19, 1770, to March 25, 1770.
Doncastle, John	Son of Jno. Doncastle, now of Maryland, formerly Wmsburg.
	July 17, 1754-Nov. 4, 1756.
Edmonds, John	May 27, 1761-Dec. 2, 1762.
	He was brother of Starling Edmonds.
Edmonds, Starling	June 18, 1760-Dec. 18, 1761.
Elliott, John	His father is clerk of Middlesex Co.
	July 23, 1755 to May 20, 1757.
Elliott, Seaton	July 24, 1755, to May 26, 1756.
	"Wrote to Geo. Thomas who married his sister, and has the est. or part of it in his hands." Bursar's note.
Emerson, Arthur	July 10, 1758 to Mar. 25, 1759.
Emmerson, James	His brother was Arthur Emerson.
	June 9, 1760-Mar. 29, 1762.
	He was admitted foundationer Mar. 29, 1762.
Eppes, Francis	Mar. 25, 1762-Mar. 25, 1764.
Eppes, Richard	Board paid Sep. 6, 1757, £9/2/11.
Esten, John	"Of Gov. Dinwiddie"
	Board paid Oct. 13, 1755, £40/0/0.
	Board paid Dec. 2, 1757, £28/15/10.
	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £13/0/0.
	Due Mar. 25, 1755, £13/0/0.
Ewell, Jesse	June 11, 1760-Ap. 18, 1762.
Ewell, Thomas	June 11, 1760-Mar. 25, 1761.

Eyre, Severn	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £9/18/6.
	Due Mar. 25, 1755, £9/15/0.
Finnie, Wm.	July 2, 1757-Oct. 14, 1757.
Fontaine, James	Scholar whose board was paid out of the fund arising from duty on liquors.
	March 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Fox, John	Aug. 7, 1753 to Oct. 3, 1757.
Gist, Richard	"I know nothing about any such boy." Bursar's note.
Griffin, John Tayloe	May 11, 1767 to Aug. 13, 1768.
Grymes, Benj.	June 16, 1757-Dec. 16, 1757.
	Jan. 7, 1759-Jan 7, 1761.
	Jan. 18, 1761-May 25, 1762.
	"Their (Benj. Charles, John, Philip) board is calculated only to time Mrs. Grymes came to live in town, but I have been since informed they continued to live in College" Bursar's note.
Grymes, Charles	June, 16, 1757-Dec. 16, 1757.
	Jan. 7, 1759-Jan. 7, 1761.
	Jan. 18, 1761-May 25, 1762.
	See note under Benj. Grymes.
Grymes, John	Nov. 14, 1755-Dec. 16, 1757.
	Jan. 18, 1759-Mar. 29, 1760.
Grymes, Philip	Nov. 14, 1755-Dec. 16, 1757.
	Jan. 18, 1759-Mar. 29, 1760.
Hardyman, James	Of Charles City.
	Sept. 22, 1755-Jan. 20, 1756.
Harrison, Benj.	Son of Col. Nathl.
	June 7, 1758 to Mar. 25, 1762.
Harrison, Burr	May 1, 1759-Nov. 1, 1760.
Harrison, Carter	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £13/0/0
	Due Mar. 25, 1755, £6/0/0.
Harrison, Charles	Feb. 10, 1760-Feb. 10, 1761.
Harrison, Henry	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £13/0/0.
	Due Mar. 25, 1755, £6/0/0.
Harrison, Nathl.	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £13.
	Due Mar. 25, 1755, £6.

Harrison, Nathl & Ben.	Wakefield's sons. Nathaniel May 6, 1756-May 20, 1757. Ap. 23, 1759-Ap. 3, 1762. Benjamin Jan. 19, 1757-May 20, 1757. "Their uncle Col. Nat. Harrison."
Harrison, Robert	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £13. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £6.
Harwood, Edward	Mar. 10, 1763-Aug. 10, 1763.
Harwood, Samuel	June 8, 1762-Sep. 8, 1763.
Hawkins, Giles	Board paid July 25, 1753, £13. Due Mar. 25, 1754, £7/8/10.
Hewitt, Richard	Scholar whose board was paid out of the fund arising from the duty on liquors Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Holden, George	Jan. 11, 1762-Oct. 28, 1763.
Hollier, Simon	Ap. 8, 1758 to Mar. 1, 1760.
Holt, Matthew.	Aug. 25, 1755-May 21, 1757. He came back in Jan. 13, 1758 as a foundationer.
Holt, Randolph	Board was paid July 26, 1753 £13. July 8, 1754, £9/15/0. Jan. 27, 1757, £32/19/4. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £13/0.
Hooe, Rice	Board paid June 13, 1753, £13/1/0. Nov. 15, 1753(?) £13. Due Mar. 25, 1754 £13. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £2/18/17.
Hubard, James.	Scholar paid out of fund arising from duty on liquors, March 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Hubard, John	Ja. Hubard, father. Mar. 25, 1759-Mar. 25, 1762.
Hubard, Wm.	Ja. Hubard, father. March 25, 1759-Mar. 25, 1762.
Hughes, Thomas	Ap. 20, 1763-Dec. 18, 1765.
Jefferson, Thomas	March 25, 1760-Ap. 25, 1762. "He left College Ap. 25."

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Johnson, James	Sep. 5, 1756-Mar. 29, 1760. Ap. 4, 1761-Aug. 1762. "He was attending college all the time to Sept. 5, 1761, but boarding elsewhere part of the time."
Jones, Edward	Son of Richard. He left College Dec. 16, 1766, owing £54/12/8 for board. One of Richard Jones' sons was admitted a foundationer Mar. 30, 1767, but not Edward.
Jones, Walter	Feb. 12, 1760-Nov. 29, 1763.
Kenner, Rodham	May 1, 1759-Oct. 24, 1760.
Kerr, Dabney	Sep. 1, 1761-Sep. 1, 1762.
Langston, John Indian.	March 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Langston, Gideon Indian.	Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Leigh, William	June 4, 1763-Mar. 25, 1769.
Lewis, Nicholas	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £13.
Lewis, Waller	Sep. 11, 1757-Sep. 11, 1760.
Lewis, Warner	Ap. 3, 1761-Oct. 6, 1763.
Lomax, John	Due Mar. 25, 1755, £13.
Lomax, Lunsford & John	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £22/15/0.
McCarty, Daniel	May 17, 1757-May 17, 1760.
McClurg, James	July 18, 1756-Oct. 4, 1757. May 29, 1758-Nov. 29, 1763.
Mallory, William	Sep. 29, 1758 to Sep. 29, 1760.
Marshal, William	His guardian was Rev. James Marye. Ap. 23, 1763-March 25, 1768.
Marye, James	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £10/16/8. Board paid May 7, 1755, £13. Oct. 25, 1756, £30.
Marye, Peter	Due, Mar. 25, 1754, £4/16/8. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £13. Board paid Oct. 25, 1756, £18.
Massie, Thomas	Jan. 16, 1759-Jan. 16, 1760. Ap. 4, 1761 to Mar. 24, 1763.

Massie, William	Jan. 16, 1759-Jan. 16, 1761.
Matthews, John	Aug. 1753-Oct. 30, 1755.
	Board paid July 13, 1756, £14/5/7.
May, David	Feb. 5, 1768 to Mar. 25, 1769.
	"He left college about Nov. 24, 1768 according to Mr. Johnson's acct." Bursar's note.
Meredith, William	Due Mar. 25, 1754, 15 shillings.
Meriwether, Nicholas & Francis	Aug. 7, 1753-Apr. 27, 1755.
Montour, John, Indian	Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Moody, Matthew	Jan. 20, 1755-Aug. 1, 1755.
Moore, Austin	Bernard Moore, his father.
	Oct. 13, 1760-Oct. 13, 1761.
	Nov. 22, 1762-July 3, 1766.
Moore, Bernard	Bernard Moore his father.
	Oct. 13, 1760-Oct. 13, 1761.
	Nov. 22, 1762-Mar. 25, 1768.
Moseley, Bassett	Sep. 13, 1759-Mar. 25, 1762.
Moseley, Edward Hack	Sep. 13, 1759-Dec. 4, 1761.
Moulson (or Moulston), William,	July 24, 1761-Apr. 22, 1764.
Munford, Theoderick	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £9/2/10.
Murphey, Charles, Indian	Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Necks, Thomas	June 22, 1764 to July 25, 1765. (decessit).
Nelson, Hugh	Feb. 11, 1759-Mar. 25, 1770.
Nelson, John	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £8/4/6.
	Due Mar. 25, 1755, £13.
Nelson, John	June 14, 1762-Apr. 15, 1764.
Nelson, John	"Father is Mr. Secretary."
	Apr. 4, 1769-Mar. 25, 1770.
Nelson, Nathaniel	Apr. 6, 1769 to Mar. 25, 1770.
Nelson, Robert	Apr. 6, 1769 to Mar. 25, 1770.

Nelson, Thomas	"His father is Mr. Secretary." Apr. 20, 1762 to Mar. 25, 1770.
Nicholas, John	Apr. 14, 1762. Cash £8/2/6.
Owen, Robert and Gronow.	Sons of Gronow Owen. Board bill was £13, and £5 respectively. No statement of date.
Page, John	Son of Mr. Mann Page. Ap. 1761-Ap. 1763. These are approximate dates. The acct. is not clear.
Page, John	May 4, 1762, cash £13. Nov. 4, 1763, cash £13.
Page, John	Son of John Page. Ap. 19, 1763-Mar. 25, 1768.
Page, John	Son John Page Esq. Mar. 26, 1769 to March 25, 1770. On Mar. 26, 1769, he owed £32.
Page, Mann.	Son of J. Page. Ap. 19, 1763-Mar. 25, 1768.
Page, Mann, Jun.	Son of Mann Page Ap. 19, 1763-Mar. 25, 1768.
Page, Wm.	Son of John Page. Ap. 19, 1763-Dec. 15, 1764.
Pendleton, Edmond	About March 1, 1762-Dec. 16, 1762.
Perrin, John	Mar. 10, 1763-Nov. 20, 1765.
Plater, George	Board paid May 31, 1753, £23/5/0. May 25, 1754, £15. Apr. 28, 1757, £11/12/6. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £9/15/0.
Price, Thomas	Scholar whose board was paid from fund arising from duty on liquors. Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Randolph, John	Col. Richard's brother. Dec. 16, 1754. There is no board bill of this date, but the bursar queries whether he did not board with Mr. Stith.
Reade, Clement & Thomas	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £15/3/4. Board paid for Clement Ap. 18, 1754, £13.

Reade, James	Board paid, Sept. 5, 1754, £7/11/8
Reade, Thomas	Board paid Feb. 24, 1755, £13. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £10/16/8.
Reed, Thomas	Mar. 25, 1763-Mar. 25, 1768. "Revd. Robt. Read put him to college." Bursar's note.
Reynolds, William	Apr. 5, 1762-June 2, 1764.
Riddell, Robert	Board paid Dec. 2, 1757, £20.
Robinson, Benj.	Jan. 11, 1762-Mar. 25, 1768.
Robinson, Christopher	Assembly foundation scholar. Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Robinson, Henry	Mar. 12, 1760-May 14, 1763.
Robinson, John	Mar. 12, 1760-Mar. 25, 1764.
Robinson, Starkey	The entry is headed "Mr. Starkey Robinson's esta," and this was written by the bursar in 1768. The charges show that he was in attendance before Mar. 25, 1764, but exact dates have not been found.
Row, William	Board paid June 13, 1753, £10/9/0.
Ruffin, Edmund	June 16, 1761-June 16, 1763.
Russell, William	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £13. Mar. 25, 1755, £8/10/6.
Sampson, John, Indian.	March 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Sampson, Thomas, Indian	March 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Sanders, John Hyde	"Probably of Cumberland." June 11, 1762-May 12, 1763.
Savage, John	March 24, 1764 to Nov. 24, 1765.
Scott, Alex.	Nov. 4, 1757-Nov. 8, 1758.
Scott, Gustavus	Board to May 24, 1766, when he left college. As the amt. due was small, only 17 shillings, he was not a student before 1766.
Selden, William	Board paid Ap. 30, 1753 £14. June 14, 1754, £12. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £13.

Shields, Samuel	Son of the Magistrate in York. Board beginning June 8, 1769 to Dec. 15, 1769, when he was chosen a foundationer.
Skelton, Bathurst	Mar. 1, 1763-Dec. 16, 1764. Note by bursar in 1769: "he is since dead."
Smith, Burgess	July 1, 1756-Nov. 7, 1762.
Smith, Edward	March 25, 1762 to Aug. 28, 1768.
Smith, Gerard	Sept. 4, 1759-July 4, 1760.
Smith, John	Sam'l Gist's son-in-law. Oct. 23, 1758-Oct. 23, 1759.
Smith, John	May 21, 1761-May 30, 1767.
Smith, Philip	June 29, 1756-June 29, 1760. The acct. is charged, but there is a note saying it was wrong and that he was a foundationer.
Smith, Thos. & Armistead	Sons of Capt. Thos Smith. Board of each 66 days beginning Jany 19 to March 25, 1770.
Spann, Richard	Jan. 15, 1755, to Dec. 4, 1755. Board paid May 1, 1756, £13.
Squirrel, Wm. Indian.	Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Stith, William	Scholar on Col. Lightfoot's foundation. Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Stringer, John, or Stringar.	May 15, 1754-Oct. 30, 1755.
Stuart, William	Son of the Revd. Mr. Wm. Stuart of Stafford. Feb. 5-Mar. 25, 1770.
Sweney, Daniel	Board paid Oct. 3, 1753, £13; Nov. 19, 1754, £13; Dec. 10, 1756, £13. Due Mar. 25, 1754, £13, Mar. 25, 1755, £13.
Tabb, Augustine	Mar. 1, 1763-Mar. 26, 1768. "He was from the first a foundationer." Bursar's note.
Taliaferro, Richard	Board paid July 5, 1755, £24/0/0. Due Mar. 2, 1754, £12. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £13.

Taliaferro, William	Scholar whose board was paid by Fund arising from duty on liquors. Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Taliaferro, Wm.	Oct. 17, 1759-Oct. 17, 1760.
Talman, Henry	Scholar on Col. Hill's foundation. Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Taylor, John	"To be paid by Col. Edm. Pendleton" Balance Sept. 25, 1770, £6/14/5.
Tazewell, John	Feb. 2, 1758-Mar. 25, 1762.
Tennent, John	Scholar, board paid from fund arising by duty on liquors. Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Thompson, John,	Son of Capt. John Thompson, who lives at York. Feb. 20, 1760-Mar. 25, 1763.
Thompson, Nath.	Scholar on assembly foundation. Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1754.
Thompson, William	Son of Rev. John Thompson of Culpeper. Feb. 16, 1762-Nov. 29, 1763.
Throckmorton, Robert	Scholar on Mrs. Harrison's foundation. Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Thruston, Charles	Board paid Jan. 7, 1754, £13. Ap. 22, 1755-£13. Oct. 23, 1755-£13. Ap. 12, 1757-£13. Nov. 11, 1757-£13.
Thruston, John	June 9, 1761-Mar. 25, 1764.
Todd, Christopher	For board to Sep. 7, 1768, £4/7. 62 days from Jan. 23-Mar. 25, 1770.
Tomkies, Charles	Mar. 10, 1763-Mar. 25, 1768. "He was from the first a foundationer. He left College Nov. 12, 1767". Bursar's note. [Note discrepancy.]
Travis, Champion	June 11, 1760-Dec. 16, 1760. Mar. 25, 1762-Mar. 25, 1764.
Tucker, Robert	Board paid Oct. 30, 1754, £13. Due Mar. 25, 1754, £10/2/10. March 25, 1755, £2/17/2.
Turberville, John	Board paid Oct. 26, 1753, £18/8/4. Due Mar. 25, 1754, £9/15/0.

Tyler, John	Scholar on Mrs. Bray's foundation. Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755.
Walker, John	"Of Dr. Gilmer." Board paid May 9, 1755, £13/10/0. Due Mar. 25, 1754, £8/4/6. Due Mar. 25, 1755, £4/15/6.
Walker, John	Board, a year and 94 days before Dec. 16, 1763.
Wallace, James	Board paid Ap. 28, 1757, £3/5/0.
Wallace, Robert	Board paid, Jan. 20, 1756, £19/16/2. Due Mar. 25, 1754, £11/10/11. Mar. 25, 1755, £13/0./0.
Waller, Benjamin	Board of his two sons 76 days beginning Jan. 9, 1770, and to March 25, 1770.
Warrington, Francis	Father is Rev. Mr. Warrington. Ap. 20, 1757-May 20, 1757.
Waugh, Abner.	Son of Alex. Waugh, of Orange. March 14, 1765 to June 18, 1768.
Webb, Foster & John	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £8/16/11.
Webb, John	Dec. 16, 1762-Dec. 16, 1763. Board paid Sep. 6, 1757, £20/15/3.
West, William	"He has a living in Md." Mar. 25-Ap. 7, 1756. May 6,-Dec. 14, 1757. On Dec. 14, 1757 he was appointed to the Nottoway foundation.
Westwood, William	May 3, 1756-Nov. 15, 1757. Board paid May 23, 1757, £13.
Whiting, Henry	Son Francis Whiting, Gloster. Ap. 20, 1763-Dec. 16, 1765.
Whiting, John	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £11. Mar. 25, 1755, £9/15/0. Board paid April 23, 1754, £11.
Whiting, Peter	Due Mar. 25, 1754, £11.
Whiting, William	(Capt. Thos. Whiting, his father). May 2, 1759-May 2, 1760.
Wilcox, Ed.	Scholar on Captain Lightfoot's foundation. Mar. 25, 1753-Mar. 25, 1755
Yates, Bartholomew	Apr. 3, 1761 to Dec. 16, 1762.

SOME LETTERS OF JOHN PRESTON.

JOHN PRESTON[1] TO FRANCIS PRESTON, STUDENT AT WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE MAY 18, 1786.

Dr Brother

I am almost persuaded you have lost the art of writing, or the use of your hand for not a word on paper from you have I seen since before Christmas, what can be the cause of your not writing?

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[1]John Preston was the eldest son of Col. William Preston, the well-known revolutionary patriot. The eldest child of Col. William Preston was Elizabeth who married William S. Madison. John Preston served in the House of Delegates from Montgomery in 1783, 1791, and 1803, and was a state senator from 1792 through the session of 1799. He was treasurer of Virginia from 1808 through 1819. Francis Preston his brother, to whom these letters are addressed, studied law at William and Mary College, and in 1788 began his political career as a member of the House of Delegates, and served again in 1789. In 1792 he was elected to Congress and served two terms. He was in the House of Delegates again in the session of 1812, and 1813, and in the state senate from 1816 through the session of 1819. He died in 1835. He married Sarah Campbell, the daughter of Col. William Campbell, the hero of Kings Mountain. One son, William Campbell Preston became a distinguished U. S. Senator, another John Smith Preston was a prominent Southern statesman and general in the Confederate army, and a third son Thomas Lewis, served on the staff of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, and was at one time Rector of the University of Virginia. The daughters were Eliza the wife of Gen. E. C. Carrington, Susan the wife of Gov. James McDowell, Sally the wife of Gov. John B. Floyd, Sophonisba the wife of Robert J. Breckinridge, and Margaret the first wife of Gen. Wade Hampton. A brother of John and Francis, James Patton, became governor of Virginia in 1816, and served for three years.

The letters now printed are from the collection of Preston papers recently presented to the Library of William and Mary College by Hon. R. M. Hughes, of Norfolk, Va.

[2]The Academy referred to is probably the Botetourt Seminary, which was incorporated in 1785 by the General Assembly, with David Robinson, William Fleming, George Skillern, Patrick Lockhart, Thomas Madison, Thomas Rowland, Thomas Lewis, David May, John Wood, Robert Harvey, William Neely, James Barnet, Henry Bowyer, Samuel Mitchell, George Hancock, and Archibald Stuart, members of the corporation. 12 Hening, 201.

can it be from the reason I have supposed above? can it be for want of respect to me? or are your other correspondants more worthy your notice than I am & therefore can't spare the time you must necessarily lost in writing a few words to me? You may perhaps for reason give this as an excuse that I do not write you but it will never do, for you well know that I labour under fifty disadvantages on this score where you do one, want of oppertunity & then so many chances to get a letter lost when ever written prevents me besides Sir I claim it as a debt due to me from you to receive at least two for one therefore for the future be more puntual in payment or else totally deny the charge and then I shall not be suspended thus

Your last letter I attended to & with all the asiduity in my power Im not able to send you one farthing more than the small petence of £18—the great difficulty of procuring cash in this country renders it almost impossible for the most monied man (except those who have hoard up) to command £25 or 30 upon any notice whatever therefore you maybe assured your distress has been equally felt by me & would have been releiv'd had it been in my power; Uncle Frank wrote a few lines to our Mother informing you would be at the Richd races this month & expected you might get some cash from Uncle Tom or tobacco from Anderson & convert it into Money should these two resources have failed you I fear your case may be still bad, but hope neither have, as Anderson's tob° I understood was deposited with a Mr. Galt merchant in Richd

Should you have recd it keep the note till it takes a rise as the very low price it now gives must greatly injure us in the sale a few hh'ds to releive your present wants & pay Jamy Brown 12 or 15£ you ought to dispose of if Tomy Smith has fail: I promise my self the pleasure of your company from Richmond up some time in the latter end of June or July, when I expect to be at Richd. & the sickly season advancing about that time will compell you to retire, this I would earnestly recommend to you let your other prospects be almost what they will & even should you be obliged to spend another winter at Wmsburg before you can procure lisence to practice the law, A tolerable good opening offers

at present in a few County Courts on the Western Waters for practice & some thing clever might with industry be made. I need not exhort you to application at this time of your live as I may readily conclude your future prospects are a sufficient stimulus to excite you to your study with all the attention you are capable of A small scetch of news political & of merchandize, trade prices of country produce, tobacco, hemp etc will be no inacceptable present to a person who lives as remote as I do—some chances of trivial consequence have taken place in this country which though you might wish to hear yet are not scarcely fit to be committed to paper: The death of our worthy good friend Col. Christian at Kentucky suppose has reached you, the best of Family's I beleave at least the best Woman in the world will feel this loss most sensibly, how she will bear with it I am at a lost to know but hope her christian fortitude of which she has a due share will bear her through. God send it may, but I rely feel for her the family & the community in general at Kentucky who will experience the loss of so active a man as he was. His daughter Miss Pricy now Mrs. Bullet & her husband may perhaps in Mrs. Christians distress, eleviate her pain a little, as Mr. Bullet may act the part Col. Christian did, if he is good he now has an oppertunity of showing it, if a bad one a full oppertunity to exercise himself, but I sincerely wish the latter may not be the case.

Some time past I was apply'd to for some papers you recd & gave recpt for in Bot: Town in June 1785 to Andn. Hays who is since dead, suppose you can remember it therefore please inform me where they are or if you have them get the necessary business done toward them. Peter Wiley's recp from the regester is one & I believe the principal one: Perhaps if I could see you myself I might or could say something more than I have inserted here & perhaps in as confus'd a manner as I have not done it. I have some Idea of what I have written on the other sides, but as the writtings is bad the spelling worse & letter long I shall excuse myself from reading it & if you can, leave that to you. I hope you will make proper allowances for a farmer which profession I now

assume, having almost laid aside the thoughts of Lawyer Doctor or Divine:

I am Dr. Brother your,
most affectionately
J Preston
Smithfield
May 18th 1786

Mr. Fran. Preston—

JOHN PRESTON TO FRANCIS PRESTON, STUDENT AT WILLIAM & MARY, NOVEMBER 2, 1786.

Dr Brother,

Before this time you have received my last to you it informs you of every thing I could wish you to do for me which if in your power I hope you've done, only I believe I forgot to tell that Spencer Norvell obtained a Judt. against the Exor which amounts to £55 some shillings. Major Lockhart has recd it & in discharge I've drawn an order on Mr. Barrett for the sum to be taken out of Anderson tobacco, this I did persuming that it or part of it ought to be apply'd towards paiment of some debts. Therefore please to put as much as will be necessary to pay this order of that tobacco into his hands, if it has not allready been deposited there. Pray try severly to get the carpenter mentioned by Capt. T. Smith & material for finishing our house. He'll get two or three as good jobbs as it, in this country—the [2]Acadamy at Bot. Town will be one- But this is now a matter of public notice, & has already raised much uproar board in Town is £22-10, washing & bed excluded, besides an equal part of expense in furnishing the Acadamy with fuel, which will make it amount skooling board etc about the sum of £35, pr annum & the latin & Greek languages only taught, how much dearer is it in Williamsburg where every thing is taught? This has made me think very seriously on what to do with Billy & Jammy, I am not yet able to determine & could wish you to advise. The differances about the academy has made me as a person who delights in peace & is pleased to see the public good promoted, to make the trustees & subscribers the following offer, that I will give them a fee simple

title to 20 Acres of Greenfield next adjoining the Glebe near the Graveyard where the old Schoolhouse formerly stood, with the privilige of cutting timber off of the whole tract to build the Accademy of & the sum of 100 £ current money, provided they will remove it to that place from Town, this quantity of land with 20 acres more taken from the Glebe which may be done by act of Assembly will afford fire wood for the Acadamy for near fifty years, with care, & then boarding & every thing found may be had nearly as good as that in town for £15, this will save every individual who goes the sum of £15 yearly which is by no means inconsiderable to a poor man, Indeed from the great expense of procuring an education at the Acadamy on its present plan will I fear deterr many poor & some men of moderate living from attempting any thing at all and this wholesome & well intended institution must die, & must it be sacrificed to the Interest and avarice of a few, who watch for & catch at every opportunity to accumalate wealth at the expense of the public good, & welfare & the injury of many Individuals. Botetourt Town has no neighbourhood for the Students to apply to & this is well known. In the town or no where they must board. Our old preceptor [3]Aron Palfreeman has writen many pieces of poetry & wishes now to commence author publicly, he intends thro you to present to J[s] Madison for his opinion & if he approves of it he shan't fear the public inspection. You'll be so good when I hand it to you first to look over it & then get the opinion of some of the best Critic's thereon.

I could write you some more but am at Mr. Smiths who is out of his element or rather in them & is uttering the most blas-

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[3]Aron Palfreeman (probably Palfreyman) is said to have been a redemptioner and to have been purchased by Colonel William Preston at Williamsburg, for the purpose of providing an instructor to his children. Palfreeman was the correspondent and friend of Miss Elizabeth Carter, the well known poet and famous as the friend of Dr. Johnson, and as a woman of great learning. Palfreeman's history is interesting, but there are some discrepancies in the different accounts of him.

phemeous oaths he can think of which interupts me so that I can just say we are all well &

am your Affectionate
Brother
J Preston
Nov. 2d 1786

John Preston to Francis Preston December 26, 1786.

Dr Brother

Your last with Miss Bell's Warrant I receiv'd but fear I cannot locate the Land to advantage near their former survey's but will do what I can for their benefitt. In several of your letters to me you make mention of the Carpenter who is to finish our House but never inform'd where he lives, what's his name, or to whom I might apply for information respecting him, this leaves me much in dark & am at a lost what is best to be done, but suppose by applying to Uncle Frank every of these difficulties will be removed. My Waggon will go a few days after *Newyear* under Philip Barriers direction to bring him & his tools up but the want of nails etc I doubt will prevent him from pushing the work forward with that speed he would wish I pray what time may we expect them from Europe? the purchase of these articles any where in this Country would utterly ruin us; but should the carpenter come & we are not on that score provided for him I'll make every exertion in my power to keep him from being idle untill a return can be had—I wish to know in what manner Anderson's tobacco (the whole of it) is laid out & if there is any yet on hand. Mr. Felix Gilbert has left this State & impowered a man to collect his debts who presses very hard for what we owe & I fear will sue unless he can be paid at least in part & We have no other prospect of raising money for him only from that Source—Spencer Norvells debt I hope is paid by Barrett agreable to my order & out of that fund proposed by me;—I will thank you to write me by Johnny Smith when he goes down which will be about the 20th Jany or sooner a letter put in the Post-Office will be taken out by him, Inform where you left his certificates with mine—

Your long absence from this Country makes many people anx-

ious for your return, some expecting to profitt from your knowledge, & others wishing to see you on the score of friendship I wish if you find yourself fully capable of practising the Law you'll provide Licence about the last of March, & prepare yourself to leave Wmsburg to stand pole for this County; it will be indispensably necessary if you wish to be elected to be present; should you incline to come up about that time only signify it to me any day between this and then, & you shall have horses sent for you: I think you stand far for the election should you be present, every person with whom I have conversed seems willing to assist all they can no objection can be rais'd only your not being present they think will hurt you: I have almost promised positively you will be there, but shall untill I heard from you not say absolutely wether it will be the case or not let me certainly know by the first safe conveyance, I shall have it in my power to talk with the most of the Voters for this County my business leading me througout the whole country this winter being a Commr for the Land tax, which office I procured with no other design than to make Interest for you & I shall delay going upon the execution of it untill I heard from you that I may know what to promise on your behalf to the people: no person offers as a candidate besides yourself yet: who may, Lord knows, but I know that there is not one man in the County whose interest is fix or whose influence is so great as even to procure him his election. A report prevails in these parts that [4]Jeamy Breckenridge fought a deul in Richmond with a certain Younghusband, but we have never certainly heard what the afront was on either sides, tho the story is told very favourable for Jamy I am glad to hear he escaped & pleased to think you should be the mediator in bringing peace about. Jamy is a wrong person

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[4]James Breckenridge was born in Botetourt County, Va., March 7, 1763. His mother was Letitia, daughter of John Preston the emigrant, who married Robert Breckinridge. He attended William and Mary College in 1785. He served in the general assembly of Virginia from Botetourt in the sessions of 1789, 1790, 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1806, 1807, 1819, 1820, 1823. He was a brother of John, who removed to Kentucky and became U. S. Senator and later attorney general of the U. S.

to triffle with on the subject of battelling I hope he has come off with honour & convinced his adversary together with the rest of our lowland Gents, that politeness blended with true courage can be found in a back woodsman, this will teach such Gentleman to be a little more reserve in casting their particarly or even general reffections on a man or sett of men who in my opinion nature has been far more bountifull to than themselves, if art is not so much practised & now they find themselves attacked in any Character they choose & worsted at either—I hope our Cousin will not on this Victory prid himself but endeavour to kerb that temper which nature has bestowed on him rather lavishly, tho at the same time endowed him with a more than sufficient stock of prudence (which if he will only make a right use of) to prevent any dangerous effusions of it: advice him—he is not backward to receive intruction & pray of him not to fall into such a contest again; he may lose a life which may be servisable to his Country & a comfort to . . . relations, by a hand which nothing by infamy dire . . . His late resolution is highly to be commended & he will in a short time see the advantage of it: My love to him—I'll write him by Johny Smith & congratulate him upon his happy escape—Your friends are all well & desire to be remembered: Billy & Jamy are yet at home owing to the Acadamy not being fixed at Botetourt upon any terms that it could exist: I'll send them this Winter to Mr. Scotts in Augusta—

I am with affection your
Brother

J Preston

Smithfield Dec 26th 1786—

JOHN PRESTON TO FRANCIS PRESTON MAY 14, 1799.

Smithfield May 14th 1799.

Dr Brother

Tommy Preston wrote you a few days ago respecting his situation at home and prospect of procuring the means of supporting himself at some place of Litrature to compleat his education. I join with him in lamenting that so much of his time at this period of his life (the most proper for acquiring knowledge)

should be wasted at home in no pursuit either proffitable or interesting and that nothing but a few dollars are wanting to make him acceptable in any Siminary in the United States. However triffling this may seem, & the apparent difficulty easy to be surmounted, it is not within my power. The general reluctance to pay, scarcity of money in this quarter which cannot be procured for any article either I am or the Estate is in possession of and my having being so long from home last winter upon unprofitable & expensive business, have thrown the barrier so effectually in my way that I cannot within any time, which would be agreeable to Tommy, remove it;—In the course of this Summer with industry which I unremitting use, will probably inable me to support him genteely at some place, where that will be, has not been determined on, as it was wished to consult with you previously. If therefore you could spare him on loan as much money as would last him during a Session, I could furnish him with every other thing, such as cloaths, & horses to convey him to the place that may be concluded on. I have written thus lengthely to obviate the idea that Tommy's letter might have impressed on you, that I was unwilling to aid him, as he says that I inform'd him that nothing can be expected from me. The fact is that I never was so anxious to aid one of my brothers before in his situation as I am him, and of some of my former anxieties on this head you may judge. I am happy also in observing (and this makes my wish to assist him the more ardent) that his progress while at New London has been considerable, and his desire to procure information appears to increase daily, which is an assurance that money will not be illy expended on him on the contrary should he persevere, well bestowed. Should an oppertunity offer I would be glad you would write me on this subject, & at the same time your opinion respecting the most proper place to send him to for a time. I will just here observe that as he has, without any advice or perswasion chosen the Law as his profession, (of which I approve) that William & Mary will be the most proper place for him to finish his study.

The law at the last Session of Assembly limited the time of returning platts to the Land Office to the first of September next;

I laboured to procure a longer time, but in vain, the patience of the Assembly appeared to be exhausted, as it had indulged the people more than fifteen years on that head. Yet I knew many people in the western parts had either through ignorance or design relying on the further indulgence of the Assembly, neglected to return their plots, & that it would be exceedingly inconvenient for them at that season of the year to go to Richmond to do it. To save many this trouble & expence I prevailed on Mr. Price to spend a month or so either here or at the Sweet Springs the latter of which he has chosen, & to give notice that he would receive from the People their plots as he would in his office. I wish you would make it as public as possible in Washington, Russell & Lee. Have a few of his advertisements copied & dispersed. I will write also to the Surveyors of these & other counties that they may publish it. As Mr. Smith the Surveyor of Russell will be perhaps more inattentive than any other person to give information respecting the Register's being at the Springs, I wish you would write to Major McFarland & Capt. Browning, or Dickeson to make it public & enclose each an advertisement:—

With love to your wife & Family I am affectionately
Yours J Preston

THOMAS DAWSON TO LADY GOOCH.

(From Dawson manuscripts, Library of Congress.)

[Draft of a letter]

Wm. & Mary Coll: Janry 11th-1758.

Dear Madam,

This is my third Letter, since I had the Pleasure of a Line from Your Ladyship, but I had much rather offend by being Troublesome, than in the Neglect of my Duty: In my first I gave you an Account of my several Visits to the Burying Place, which still remains indeed in the same Manner it was, but the Door is constantly locked, the Key kept at Mr. Smiths who always readily favoured me with it, and the House not in the least abused; and that Gentleman has solemnly promised me again and again, that the least Indignity shall never be offered to it: In, my second, which indeed I know was carried into France, among many other particulars, I acquainted you with my having a Daughter, baptized by the Name of Rebecca, Your Ladyship, (by Mrs. Dawson Your Proxy) and the Governor and his Lady, Sponsors.—As to News, or any Thing else, I can write at present, I think it would be impertinent, because Mrs. Dinwiddie, for I hope you will have the Pleasure of seeing one another, will be able to answer you 1000 Questions, and inform you of 1000 Things, which might not occur to me: And tho' my Lady Gooch there has not, God be thanked, Happened in their Family, any of those tender & affecting Incidents, which frequently endear us one to another, and laid indeed the first Foundation of our sincere & lasting Friendship; yet I assure you I am sincerely concerned at their Departure, and could have heartily wished, had it been consistent with the Governor's Health, that they had remained much longer amongst us. For their courteous and affable Behaviour made them easy and agreable to all their Acquaintances, and particularly endeared them to those, who had the Happiness of their particular Regard and Friendship. As to my Wife she has been almost as much affected upon this Occasion, as a certain Gentleman was, upon the Departure of Sir W Gooch and his Family.

And now I have mentioned my Wife, I must give you some Account of my own Family; Tho' the Bearer, to whom I refer you for News, knows none better, nor favoured none more with her company. First then, as to Mrs. Dawson, she continues a good natured Girl, & endeavours to please her Husband; Bill a smart promising Boy, goes to School now & then, and has for some Time been a very great Courtier: Beck at present a little big bellied Girl, but will in Time I hope be a buxom Lass: Tom a very little Boy, like an Ancient of that Name in Miniature, but I hope he will soon outstrip him, and meet with none of his most terrible misfortunes. And as to Head of the House he is as heretofore sometimes sick & sometimes well, sometimes chearful, & sometimes sad; but in all States & Conditions of Life, he and the whole Family have the greatest Esteem and Veneration for Lady Gooch, and are intirely at her Devotion. My Wife joins with me in wishing Your Ladyship at this Season of Life all the temporal Advantages of Religion to which you are so justly intitled; and the eternal Reward of it, when Time shall be no more. As I am much hurried at this Time, I can only add, that with the greatest Respect, Duty and Gratitude, I am,

Dear Madam,

Your most affect: & most obedient Servant,

Thomas Dawson.[1]

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[1]Rev. Thomas Dawson was chosen President of the College in 1755 after the death of Rev. Wm. Stith. He was President until his death Dec. 5, 1761.

WILLIAM HUNTER TO THOMAS DAWSON[1]

Revd Sir,

Agreeable to your Desire, I have made Enquiry and learn, That Mr. Franklin's Experiments, being exhibited before the King of France, His Majesty was so well pleas'd directed the Abbe Mazeas a Member of the Academy of Sciences to write to the Royal Society, acquainting them how well he had been pleas'd with them, and desiring them to return his Thanks to Mr. Franklin.

He has receiv'd repeated Thanks from the Royal Society of London for several Papers communicated to them. In Nov. 1753 they decreed to Mr. Franklin the annual Prize Medal which you will find mention'd in the Gent. Mag. for Dec. 1753, with an abstract of the Earl of Macclesfield Speech on that occasion.

Mr. Franklin has receiv'd a Diploma from Harvard College at Cambridge N. England, & Yale College at N. Haven in Connecticut. He is President of the Trustees of the College & Academy of Philadelphia, & President of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

I am Sir. Your very Hble. Servt.

Wm. Hunter.

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[1]This letter was written by William Hunter, publisher of the Virginia Gazette, and a friend and correspondent of Benjamin Franklin, to Thomas Dawson, president of the College. It seems to be in answer to a letter of Dawson, inquiring about Franklin's qualifications for the degree of A. M. The degree of A. M. was bestowed upon Franklin April 2, 1756. See W. and M. Quarterly, V. 2, p. 208. The original letter is in the Dawson manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

HUGH JONES.

The first English grammar by an American of which the writer has learned was written by Hugh Jones, Professor of Mathematics in William and Mary, 1724. Since his grammar was published in England, it is not commonly listed as an American grammar. However, the authorship of a textbook is much more important than its place of publication; hence, Jones' grammar is given the place of honor.

Of this text, it is supposed that only one copy is extant, in the British Museum. The book is entitled "A Short English Grammar, An Accidence to the English Tongue." It consists of 86 pages in all, made up thus: Half-title, two pages, unnumbered; title, two pages unnumbered; Dedication (to Her Royal Highness Wilhelmina Charlotte, Princess of Wales, dated at end April 22, 1724) paged III-IV; contents VI-IX; page X unnumbered and blank; Text, pages 1 to 69; pages 70-72, numbered, contain a list of books printed for John Clarke . . . The title page describes Hugh Jones as "lately Mathematical Professor at the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, in Virginia, and Chaplain to the Honorable the Assembly of that Colony."

The British Museum copy is in red morocco binding (contemporaneous) gilt tooled border, with central gilt ornaments.[1] That Jones' textbook was ever used in American schools is doubtful.

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[1]Table of Contents is as follows:

Contents of the Division and Use of English Grammar
Of the Characters and Sounds of English Letters.
Of the Correction of our Alphabet.
Of the Organs of Speech and Formation and Use of Great and Small Letters.
Observations upon the Vowles and Consonants.
Of the Tongs, Brogues and English Tones and Dialects.
Of the Methods of Learning the True Sound of English Syllables and Spelling.

This information is from a description of the British Museum copy, by Stevens and Brown, Meriwether, Colonial Curriculum, 151-5.

The attention of the editors of the magazine has been called to this by Dr. W. A. Montgomery of William and Mary College.

FRANCIS ROBINSON.

Inventory and Appraisement of the Estate of Francis Robinson Clerk decd, late Usher of the Grammar School of the College of William & Mary, taken the 11th day of August 1741.

A parcel of Books per Catalogue	£ 11.17.3
6 Walnut Chairs with Russa Seats	3——
1 Large Walnut round Table	1.10.—
1 Walnut Dutch Table	.16.—
2 square pine Tables	.18.—
1 Walnut Desk	2. 5.
7 Moll's Mapps	1. 6.
1 hair Trunk	. 5.
1 feather bed, bolster, pillow, quilt, apr blankets, 3 sheets, 2 pillowcvers	6.——
Small looking Glass	. 5.
Brass Candlesticks & snuffers	. 3.
Andirons 2s. Shovel & Tongs 1s.	. 3.6
hearthbrush 1s.—peuter bason 15	. 2.3
China Bowl	.13.
1 Decanter, 6 glasses, 2 water Do.	. 5.—
parcel Myrtlewax & Tall. Candles	.12.—
Wearing Apparel	25. 3.—
1 Silver Watch	4.——
pr. Silver Spurrs	1. 5.
pr Shoe & knee buckles	.17.—
6 Silver Teaspoons & Tongs	1.10.
pr Stone buttons, & pr Studds	. 4.—
1 Razor	. 1.—
half a pipe Madera Wine	9.——
5 doz. bottles Cider	1. 5.—
4 doz Madera Wine	2. 8.—
about 20 Galls. Rum	3.——
Carried forward	$ 79.14.—

Brought forward	£ 79.14.
1 Horse	6.——
Saddle, bridle & Whip	2.——
Will, a Negro boy	20.——
Cash	16.
	£124.12.

We the Subscribers being first sworn according to Law, have apprais'd the Estate of Francis Robinson decd, as above is set down.

William Dawson.
Edward Ford.
Jos. Davenport.

(From Dawson papers, Library of Congress.)

ALEXANDRIA ACADEMY.

To the Honble. the General Assembly of Virginia.

The Petition of sundry inhabitants of the town of Alexandria & Vicinity thereof— Most humbly sheweth,

That the very considerable and increasing population of this place hath for years past called aloud for a Seminary of learning, on such a basis & under such regulation as would assure its utility & success; and thereby prevent the necessity your Petitioners & many other inhabitants of this part of the Country have heretofore been under, of sending their young people abroad & into other States for the purposes of Education, the expense of which hath been very burthensome, & the benefit more precarious than it would be at home--

That to remedy these inconveniences, your Petitioners have by voluntary contribution, within the last twelve months, procured a Lott of ground in a Healthy & retired situation, & erected thereon a commodious building fit for an Academy, in which three schools are opened, & about one hundred scholars already admitted, whose education is conducted by the Masters with zealous assiduity, & a success equal to the most sanguine expectation, the whole being placed under the Government of thirteen Trustees & Visitors, who are required constantly & regularly to inspect & superintend the Schools—

That General Washington having for a long time had it in contemplation to donate a contribution of one thousand pounds to the purpose of establishing a school for the education of Orphans, & other poor children, hath so far approved of the institution set on foot by your Petitioners, & the manner in which it is conducted, as to invest therein his intended donation, and to charge the Trustees & their successors forever, with the application of the annual interest of that sum to his intended purpose; And accordingly there are twenty poor children now receiving education in the Academy on the said benefaction of the General—

That your Petitioners from the beginning had it in view, as soon as their plan should arrive at a proper stage of maturity,

to petition the Legislature for an Act of Incorporation, whereby the Institution might acquire that permanency & efficiency which are necessary to the full accomplishment of its purposes & the due extension of its benefits; humbly conceiving that the future & Glory of the State, as well as the lustre of individuals and happiness of the community for the time to come, are best provided for by establishing and giving due encouragement to Seminaries of this kind for the propagation of knowledge and cultivation of the minds of the people—

It is therefore the earnest prayer of your Petitioners, that an Act may pass, to constitutute George Washington, William Brown, David Stewart, John Fitzgerald, Charles Lee, William Baker, Isaac S. Keith, Samuel Hanson, James Hendricks, William Hartshorne, Josiah Watson, Benjamin Dulany & Chas. Simms, & their successors for ever, who shall be chosen by a meeting of those persons or their heirs who may or shall have contributed the sum of five pounds each, or upwards to the use of the Academy, or a majority of them, at the Academy on the second Monday in April of each & every year, such election to be made by ballot, & due notification thereof given by the President & Secretary for the time being, to be a body politic & corporate by the name of the *Trustees of the Alexandria Academy;* who shall chose a President & Secretery out of their own body, & have power to hold, acquire, & dispose of property, real & personal for the use of said Academy, and to govern the same in all respects whatever, in such manner as other bodies politic & corporate, for the like purposes, are usually constituted; Provided that, in case of the persons entitled, as aforeasaid, to make an annual election of Trustees, or a majority of them, should neglect to meet on the second Monday in April at the Academy, & make such election in the manner above specified, that the Trustees formerly & already appointed, shall continue to act as Trustees, & have power by a Majority of their own voices to fill up whatever vacancies may happen among them by death, resignation or otherwise, untill such annual election shall be duly held at the time and place, & in the manner above mentioned; And provided that no meeting of the Trustees be competent to transact busines re-

garding the property of the Academy, unless seven at least of their number be present—

And whereas there are many charges incident to an infant Institution so rapidly growing as this, which, tho' indispensably necessary to render the plan of education respectable, & fully answer the ends it is capable of serving, are yet too great to be defrayed by the generositity of individuals, already stretched as far as it can bear; Your Petitioners beg leave further to beseech this Honble. House, in token of that approbation & patronage, which have been so propitious in other instances, to favor & assist Seminaries of learning, That the revenue arising within the Corporation of Alexandria, from Billiard tables & Tavern Licenses with the penalties for non-observance of the Laws respecting them, may be vested in the Trustees aforesaid for the use of the Alexandria Academy; This your Petitioners apprehend will be found of small account in the scale of the public revenue, while they flatter themselves it might be made eminently beneficial, if placed in the hands of the Trustees, to promote the ends & enhance the usefulness of the Academy—

And your Petitioners will pray Etc.

W Brown	Jos. Greenway	James Hendricks
Isaac S. Keith	Jonah Thompson	Wm. Ramsay
John Fitzgerald	Peter Wise	David Griffin
Robert Mc. Crea	Wm. Paton	Wm. Herbert
Jesse Taylor	John Butcher	Wm. Duvall
Ch. Simms	Jon. Swift	John Hendricks
Robert Adam	Wm. Lowry & Co.	Wm. Mc. Knight
John Allison	James Mc. Kenna	Thomas Conn
John Murray	Wm. Lyles	Robert Mean
Thomas Barclay	Josiah Watson	Cleon Moore
James Lawrason	Will. Hunter	Wm. Hartshorne
Benj. Shreve	T. Marsteller	

Endorsed—

Alexandria Petition Oct. 30, 1786. Referred to Props. 1st. part reasonable 2nd. part rejected.

(From Virginia State Archives, Richmond.)

TO INCREASE THE POWER OF CONGRESS OVER COMMERCE, 1785.

To the Honourable the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, the Memorial of the Merchants, Traders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Alexandria humbly sheweth—

That your Memorialists having considered the present situation of the United States with regard to their commerce with Foreign Nations beg leave to Observe that it is carried on upon very unequal terms and under many disadvantages. Foreigners of all Nations are freely admitted into the American Ports and to export therefrom any Commodities whatsoever, Subject to scarcely any other restrictions or duties but such as are laid upon Citizens. On the other hand the Citizens of the United States are absolutely prohibited from carrying into Foreign parts and of taking therefrom some of the most important articles of their trade. And though permitted to carry into some parts and from thence to take away some articles of inferior consideration, yet they are suffered to do it under such restrictions and extraordinary impositions as make it a disadvantageous business and in the end must operate in the nature of a prohibition—for more particular information upon this subject your Memorialists refer your attention to the well known Laws of Great Britain respecting the Trade of Foreigners with the British Dominions and to the late edict of the Council of State of the King of France, concerning commerce in the French Islands in America. Daily instances are happening of American Vessells being refused admittance into a Foreign Port, while Vessells belonging to the same Port are being received into every part of the United States without any obstruction or difficulty.

These observations will show some of the disadvantages under which our Foreign Trade now labours and your Memorialists have reason to fear that it will continue under the same circumstances untill Commercial Treaties and regulations to be made by Congress shall put it in a better situation. Therefore that the Merchants of the United States may be placed upon an equal footing with

the Merchants of Foreign Nations carrying on Trade with them, and that Congress may be enabled to treat with foreign powers respecting commerce upon terms of confidence and advantage, your Memorialists beg leave to Submit to the consideration of your honorable body whether it would not be wise politic and for the general welfare of the United States that Congress should be vested with certain rights and authorities to be properly defined and ascertained, over the foreign Trade and commerce of the several States, and that in this instance the Confederation should be altered and amended, by giving them such power as may be adequate to the great and important Object, humbly hoping that such Laws will be made and such measures taken, as to your Honourable body shall seem wisest and best for giving effectual and immediate relief touching the premises: and your Memorialists as in duty bound shall ever Pray

William Tyler
James Kirk
Wm. Hartshorne
R. Hooe
D. Arell
John Potts, Jr.
Saml. Arell
Jas. Craik, Jr.
John Saunders
Wm. Abbott
John Reynolds
James Lawrence
James Gretter
Alex. Smith
David Pancoast
Aaron Herves
Enoch Morgan
Thos. Shomay (?)
Joseph Fulmer
Wm. Finley
Robt. Whitmore
James Wright
Chas. Mc. Iver
Michael Geoghegan
Jeremiah Mahoney

Chas. Thruston
Wm. Wilson
Ephraim Edwards
James Fletcher
Peter Wise
James Parker
Agustus Delarue
Adam Lynn
Philip Webster
James Hendricks
Jacob Bontz
Wm. Ferguson
John Lawton
Joshua Spiers
John Dundas
Wm. Armstrong
Lawrence Hoff
Wm. Keech
Thos. Conn
Alex. Couper
James Adams
Robert Allison
John Muire
Edward Ramsay
Robert Adam

Edward Sanford
William Loury
George Richard
John Somers
Lewis Weston
Wm. Ward
Valentine Uhler
Jonah Thompson
Wm. Dalton
John Lordon
Danl. Mc. Pherson
Isaac Mc. Pherson
Ja. Keith
John Fitzgerald
Dennis Ramsay
Hiram Chapin
W. Brown
John E. Ford
Richard Conway
Wm. Duvall
John Wise
Wm. Hunter
W. Leigh
Thomas Reeder
Wm. Mortimer Jr.

Endorsed Alexandria Petition Nov. 5, 1785. Referred to whole

(From Virginia State Archives, Richmond.)

TAXATION OF IMPORTERS, 1780.

To the Honble. The House of Delegates, and Senate of Virginia, in General Assembly, now sitting—

The petition and Remonstrance of the Subscribers, Subjects of this State, and Adventurers to Foreign Countries by Sea, most humbly sheweth that your petitioners hath seen, and with due attention considered, an Act of the Legislature passed in the October Session, 1779, for raising a supply of money for the service of the United States. And, that it is with anxiety and concern they find that by Law the traders of this State laid under such contribution, and embarresments, as will most certainly give a fatal check to the increase to the trade of this Country, and like a Law that in times past threw the West India Business of the Virginia Merchants into the hands of those of Maryland and Pennsylvania, we fear it will give an advantage to Maryland and Carolina, so as to enable them to undersell your Importers, and destroy the trade of the Commonwealth. It is with equal concern that we find the trade is not only taxed, but retrospectively and unequally so. The Law has retrospect in as much as it lays a burthen upon Business, transacted, done and finished many Months before the Act itself was promulgated, or even existed, and if it has Retrospect, it is dangerous, and to be dreaded as a President, for if a Posteria Law is to take in, trie and burthen an Anterior Transaction, no man shall know what he may do, or shall not do, nor when he is safe in Life or Property. It is unequal if we view it only in the light of taking only ½ per cent more from the trader than the Land hlder, but we conceive it to be grievously so when we consider that the Merchants are Taxed 2½ percent upon all that their goods does actually sell for, or is worth, and therefore pays upon the full and intrinsick value of that part of their estate, whilst the Landed Interest is only taxed 2 percent upon Lands Valued very often at not half their worth. And further we find the Landed Estate taxed with 2 per cent but once a year, whilst the Trader tho' worth but as much in money as his neighbour is in Land, is taxed 2½ per cent for every time he

turns his Money over—which is more than the Landed Interest pays, by as many times as the Trader lays out his Money above once in a year. These things may it please your Honours we view as grievances, and with all due defference and duty, Pray that they may be so altered and amended, as to put both Merchant and Landholder on a safe and equal footing. Your Petitioners further beg leave to represent to your Honors that they have reason to fear and apprehend, a Petition will be prefered to the General Assembly by some of the Traders of this State, and Particularly those in the Retale Business, who to obtain a repeal & get rid of the burthen of the above recited Act, are forming a plan, as we are informed, to shift the greatest part of it upon your good Subjects, the Importing Traders of the Commonwealth, by offering as a substitute to that Law a general assessment on the whole trade of this State. As far as Justice and reason would warrant, we have petitioned for the relief of the Retalers—And as far as Propriety and Duty points out, we must appear against them—We sincerely lament that the exigencies and Funds of the Publick are such as to oblige the Legislature to burthen the trade of the Country in any shape, but if Money from taxes upon Trade must be raised, we most humbly hope it may be taken from the Inland Trader, dealing in Foreign Goods, who seem most numerous, whose Business is most safe, whose gains have been greater, and who, in our judgment and belief, are less valuable members of Society than the Importers. The exhorbitant prices of Foreign Goods cannot be chargeable to the Importers, for at the commencement of this War, considering the risk and expence of their voyages, they add on reasonable terms, but their soon after stept in between them and the consumer, a set of Men that raised all imported Goods, especially the necessary's of Life, to such an unjustifyable pitch as to oblige the Planter and Farmer to seek relief in the high sales of the produce of their Lands. Articles by which alone the Importer could import, and by which means from time to time they have been obliged to ask new prices upon every new importation, this we know to be truth, and we humbly conceive that it proves that we have too few importers, and too many inland traders—To tax your importers will be a means of

lessening the number, to give them a free trade will most certainly encrease them—If you tax them you must also Tax Foreigners, or you give them such an advantage over your own Subjects as to take the trade from this Country, and become your carriers—If you tax Foreigners they will trade to other States, where they probably will meet with no embarresments & burthens on trade. and besides, their Country will retaliate, to tax the inland trader, and leave the importer free, will incline him to become an importer, and a usefull Man—for whilst this War continues we cannot have too many importers, nor too few retalers, as while our importations are so contracted, the importers can with ease vend their Cargoes, in retale to the consumers, and so long as they do this, they shut a door against speculation and imposition, these may it please your Honors that we most humbly presume to offer, why in Justice and good Policy no part of the tax can be shifted from the Retalers upon us, your inoffensive, Dutifull & usefull Subjects. And we further most humbly observe, that, by a general assessment there is every reason to fear that, considering the risks and precarious state that the property of your importers from their very nature must be constantly in & be liable to, they would seldom be assessed as low, and often above what strict justice on a true investigation of the worth of their Estates would warrant—and that, even after laying the heaviest hand that retalers can wish upon your importers, you never can by assessment raise that sum of Money for the Commonwealth, or do that impartial justice to the Individual, as you can by the Law as it now stands, exceptional as many parts of it may be. With a firm reliance on the Justice & wisdom of your Honers, and in full persausion of the Truth and righteousness of what we have stated, we implore the assistance & protection of your Power, and as in Duty bound we shall ever Pray.—

Hooe & Harrisons—
Richard Conway
John Harper

Endorsed—Alexandria Petition, May 27, 1780. Referred to Ways and Means

(From Virginia State Archives, Richmond.)

LETTER FROM MR. POVEY CONCERNING THE NATURALL PRODUCTS OF VIRGINIA IN BEHALF OF THE ROYALL SOCIETY.

March 4, 1660.

Sr.

I have at last obtained a dispatch of his Maties. gracious and kind acknowledgment of the Satisfaction hee received in the Present of Silke made to his Matie. by your hands, from Collonll. Pettus; And, that his Matie. may receive farther Delight and Satisfaction from Virginia; you are desired to give your Assistance by the Interests, and Acquaintance you have in Virginia to certaine Noble and Ingenuous Persons, who by his Maties. encouragement, doe Sometimes meete together to enquire into, and examine, (as farr as Philosophie and experience may leade and Conduct them) all Such things as Art, or Nature have produced, that, by a more intimat knowledge and tryall thereof, they may bee able to improve what is allreadie donn, or discovered; or may at least raise by their Inquisicon and Industrie Some Observations to the benefit of mankind, and the advantage of the Comonwealth of Learning. In Ordr. to which they have extracted out of Such Authors as have writt concerning America a Paper containing Some fewe Enquiries to wch a distinct account is desired, that it may appeare how just the Traditions of Such Men are, who have undertooke to assert Such things for Truths and Realities, and that a more exact knowledge may bee gained of those Perticulars. But, because Time, and experience must needs have made a more Spacious, and more certaine Discoverie of things in Virginia; and that in probabilitie noe Secrett, or Curiositie remaines there undiscern'd. It is farther earnestly desired you will take the trouble of Spreading these Quaeries among Such friends of yours as you shall judge to bee most likely to assist herein and perticularly that Sr. William Berkeley the Governor who is known to bee a Person of most eminent Ingenuitie; and one that hath made verie many Tryalls and Experimts, may bee applyed to, and requested not only to favour and assist these kinds of Enquiries in his own Person, but that hee alsoe doe by his generous Example and his Influence

recomend it to individuall Persons, who in their Severall Quarters and Plantations may pursue these Disquisitions, and may make returns of them to him, under their hands; that it may bee understood to whom the Societie heere is beholding for their paines and favour therein; and that having pass'd alsoe through the Governrs observacon, and approbation, they may have the better Authoritie and credence when they shall arrive heere. I shall add alsoe that his Matie. hath ordered a Garden purposely for Plants, and Simples, and varieties of that nature; and it will bee most acceptable to his Matie if any thing of that kind may bee presented to him from Virginia. You may please to improve these Overtures wch I have heere tendered to you by your own Letters by this Shipp that is hastning in you[?]. I have herein donn what hath been required of mee by Persons verie considerable; and now leave it to your Civilitie to promote it. I am

Yor most humble Servt.

T. P.

March 4th 1660.

Enquiryes concerning those severall kind of things which are reported to be in Virginia & the Bermudas, not found in England.

1 Concerning the variety of earths. 'Tis said there is one kinde of a Gummy consistence, white & cleere another white & so light that it swims uppon water, another red called Wapergh like terra Sigillita.

Quaere what other considerable kinds, & in what quantitys they are to be found & to send over a parcell of each.

2 What considerable mineralls, stones, Bitumens, tinctures, Drugges, & a specimen of each.

What hot Bathes, & of what medicinall use.

What is the originall of those large navigable rivers wch empty themselves into the Bey of Chesapeak, & whether on the other side of that ridge of mountaines from which they are supposed to proceed, there be no other rivers that flowe into the south sea.

3 What variety of Plants are native there & not in England, what kind of peculiar herbs there are, considerable either for their flower, smell, Alimentary or medicinall use.

The severall kinds of silke grasse, & how prepared.

Wichacan a vulnerary roote; Locone roote, of a red juice, a good tincture. Musquaspenn a roote of a red tincture. Tockawouge a nourishing root. The Putchamin fruite, Mackoquir whether a kind of Pompion. That the seeds, roots, slips, or young plants of each of these or any other rare kind may be sent over, as may be most proper for the propagation of them, together with their manner of culture. And so likewise for shrubs or trees.

2 What kind of plant is that which is stiled Maricock, whose fruite is said to be fashioned like a lemmon, exceeding pleasant to the tast, of a blossome most beautiful & elegant as any other flower. Whether there be that which wee call the Passion Flower & the fruits those wee call Citrulls, as De Laet thinks.

The Chincomen tree, whose fruite is with a huske like unto a Chasnut whether raw or boyled 'tis luscious & heatty meate.

Peare trees of a red juice, whether the same with those in England called the bloody Pears.

Plums whose juice yield a pleasant drinke.

So tis said that in the Bermudas there is a poison weede like our Ivy whose leaves doe by the touch cause blisters.

A red reed whose juice or infusion causeth vomit.

A kind of woodbine, whose fruite like a flat beane, purgeth vehemently.

Sea feathers growing at the bottome of the sea, like a vine leafe, but very thick interwoven with veines of a pale red.

What kind of trees those Barkes are taken from, which are used instead of Tile of Slet in the covering of their houses being more coole in summer & warme in winter then stone.

4 What kind of animalls, are peculiar to those places.

1 Insects, flyes, ants, wormes, Spiders. Some of each kind to be sent over either alive or dead.

Tis said that there is a kind of spider in the Bermudas, large, & very beautifull for their colours. Their webbs are woven between severall trees, & are for substance & colour like perfect raw

silke, so strong that birds like snites[?], bigger then blackbirds are snared in them.

2 What strange fishes, Tortoises or Turtles, very large, Toadfish St. Georges Dragon. Sting ray with a poisonous preckle.

3 What Birds. Cohow a night bird
Egg bird
Pemblico
Tropicks
Penguin as bigg as a goose but flyes not.

4 What Beasts. Flying Squirrells, Musk rats. Civet cats. Apossumes, or Possowne like a young pigg with a bagg to carry his young ones.

Each of those or any other rare kinde to be sent over hither alive

Q. Whether Deere have generally 3 or 4 fawnes at a broode & whether any of the Cattle transported from hence, become there more fruitfull then they were here.

Whether the Dogs barke not, but only howle as wolves.

Q Whether the relation be true of a Glue of Hartshorne that will not dissolve in water. It is desired, to have some of the severall kinds of thread made of the barkes of trees the Sinews of deere, & the grasse Penamenawo.

Q Whether at the Bottome of the Bey of Chesapeake Northward the Native be still of such a Gigantish stature as hath been reported. And whether there be another people not farre from them Eastwardly of a Dwarfish stature.

Whether the Natives be borne White.

Let it be observed, Whether round about the Coast of Bermudas the Tyde be at the same time; also the houre of full Sea, & age of the moone at the time of observation.

Endorsed, The Paper of Enquiries from Gresham College to Virginia &ct/March 4th 1660.

(From the British Transcripts in the Library of Congress)

PETITION OF AMERICAN LOYALISTS, 1778.

(Autumn 1778)

To the Right Honble Lord Geo. Germaine his Majestys Secretary of State for the American Department.....

My Lord

We his Majesty's most dutiful and Loyal Subjects, who from America have taken Refuge in Great Britain, being desirous in the Present critical Juncture of affairs, of contributing as far as lies in our Power to the Public Safety: beg leave, thro your Lordship to make an humble Tender of our Personal Services to his Majesty, in Case the daring Design of invading this Kingdom, should be carried into Execution.

We ask no Reward for our Endeavours to be useful on this alarming occasion, but his Majesty's approbation, which we hope we shall Merit; and we are Ready to be Employed in any Manner which his Majesty may think, will best Answer the Purposes of our Engagement.

We have taken the Liberty to address ourselves to your Lordship on this Subject; and we entreat your Lordship to communicate to his Majesty our Desires to serve him and Readiness to Sacrifice our Lives in Defence of his Person and Government.

John Randolph
Chairman
Cary Michell
Robert Miller
Alexr. Gordon
John R. Grymes
Richard Corbin
Thomas Corbin
Benj. Hallowell
George Rome
Benjn. Bannerman
Andrew Allen
Samuel Hale
Samuel Fitch
Henry E. McCulloh
Jonathan Watson
Peter Johonnot
Rbert Hallowell
Wm. Sanford
Hutchinson
John Dow
Jeremiah Cronin
George Meserve
Robert Traill
Lewis Gray
John Sullivan
Benjn Gridley
John Lawless
Joseph Galloway
James Ingram
Austin Brockenbrough
John Phillips
Samuel Hirst Sparhewk
George Muir

Saml. Sparhawk	Jonathan Perry Coffin
Danl. Leonard	John Brooke
John Patterson	George Thompson
Sir Wm. Pepperrell	John Macky
Nathl Coffin	John Gray Junr.
Joseph Thompson	Jolly Allen
Zaccheus Cutler	Willm. Rhondes
George Miller	John Margaridge
John Malcom	

Endorsed Loyal Americans.

(From British Transcripts, Library of Congress.)

EDITORIAL.

The present number begins the first volume of the second series of the William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine. The Magazine was established at his own expense in 1892 by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, president of the college. It was published and edited by Dr. Tyler for twenty-seven years as a private undertaking, the last number issued being number 4 of volume 27, dated April, 1919. Since Dr. Tyler's retirement as president, he has established a new magazine which is now published at Richmond, Va., entitled "Tyler's Historical and Genealogical Quarterly." To Dr. Tyler's familiarity with the county and state records, are added an intimate acquaintance with the history of many Virginia families and an exact knowledge of the political history of colonial and post-revolutionary Virginia. These qualifications, illuminated by an earnest desire to make Virginia history more widely known, enabled him to establish the William and Mary Quarterly as an authority in its special field. The limitations which hedge in an editor of a local historical periodical prevent him from making any one number of such unusual interest that it becomes a literary sensation and a "best seller." Continuity of publication, abundance and variety of source material and original contributions which show the result of research in neglected fields, determine largely the usefulness of a periodical of this character. Judging by such standards, historical students have awarded to the Quarterly edited and owned by Dr. Tyler a high rank as a permanent reference work. The twenty-seven volumes of the first series will ever remain a monument to the editor's enterprise and to his devotion to the interests of Virginia history.

The second series will be published by the College of William and Mary. The present editors will endeavor to develop an interest in Virginia history, by publishing such documentary material and original contributions in history, biography and genealogy, as will shed new light upon the past.

The editors open the columns of the magazine not only to subscribers but to all readers who may wish to submit queries relative to Virginia history or genealogy. We hope that the Query Column may develop into a clearing house for information on obscure questions.

Ruth H. Early 1921

(Complimentary)

SECOND SERIES, VOL. 1, NO. 2. APRIL, 1921.

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Historical Magazine

EDITORS

J. A. C. CHANDLER,
President William and Mary College

E. G. SWEM,
Librarian William and Mary College

Published Quarterly by William and Mary College at Williamsburg, Va.

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William and Mary College
Quarterly Historical Magazine

Vol. 1. Second Series APRIL, 1921 No. 2.

WILLIAM CLAIBORNE OF KENT ISLAND.

Address delivered by J. Herbert Claiborne before the Maryland Society of New York, April 14, 1919.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I was both pleased and honored by the invitation extended me, through Mr. McMaster, to become a member of the Maryland Society of New York. On second thought, however, I commenced to doubt whether, indeed, I had the qualifications necessary.

I am a Virginian by lineage, from the very foundations of this country. I was not born in Maryland, and, perhaps, some may contend even today, as they have in the past, that the ancestor upon whom my claims rest was not at any time a Marylander. Thereby hangs a tale, which it is my purpose to narrate in some degree tonight. I regret that the historical facts are of such a character that I am unable to present my subject in an impersonal way, concerning myself alone with the Government of Virginia and Maryland, but the fact is, the early history of these two States between the dates of 1631 and 1677 is inextricably bound up in the two actors of the drama—Lord Baltimore and Colonel William Claiborne of Virginia. Those who have read the interesting accounts of this period at the hands of Fiske, Latané, and others, will, I believe, confirm the statement.

Let us for one moment look at the impersonal side and point out the difference between the Maryland Government and that of Virginia. Maryland at that time was what was called a Palatinate. It was ruled over by Baltimore, or his representatives; his power was that of the king, whose "alter ego" he was, and the

title harked back to the Merovingian kings of Gaul—to a personage high in the royal household, who took judicial cognizance of all pleas of the crown. Illustrations of this are to be found in the Palatinates of the Rhine and Bavaria. Therefore, all subjects of Maryland looked to the ruler of the Palatinate as their overlord, and to him were responsible. He was, practically, the supreme authority. The Virginia Colony was decidedly different.

The original London Company dated from 1606, and was formed under a charter granted by James I., to settle and develop by trade English America along the Atlantic Coast, running 100 miles inland and extending between latitudes 34°-41°; which is to say: from the Hudson River to the southern limits of North Carolina.

In 1609, the original London Company was rechartered, under the name of the Virginia Colony. It embraced territory which extended two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Old Point Comfort, at the mouth of the James River, and to reach up into the land from sea to sea, but, in 1612, the colonists begged and secured a new charter, which included the Bermudas. Up to this time, the London Council had governed Virginia, but by this charter the control of the colony was put into the hands of the stockholders of the Company, who numbered about nine hundred important and wealthy citizens of England, amongst whom were some fifty noblemen and one hundred and fifty baronets and knights. The period at which this last Company was formed marked the beginning of the long struggle of the English people for Government by a free Parliament, as opposed to the absolute rule of kings. The stockholders were divided into the Country Party and the Court Party. The former were independents—free and bold thinkers, who sought for free things for the Government of Virginia, and were decidedly in the majority. The minority, or Court Party, held for absolute Government by the king. On the 30th of June, 1619, the first session of a legislative body in America was held—that of the Virginia House of Burgesses. On July 24th, 1621, the Virginia Colony was granted a written charter by the Virginia Company, whereby free government was conferred upon them. Such was the Colony

of Virginia, such its area, and such its character of Government, when William Claiborne, a member of the Country Party, sailed from England for the New World in 1621.

When one regards the difference between the two governments—of their personnel, the character of the two leading actors, their political principles, their difference in origin, their difference in traditions and their different manner of life, in a time of political, social and romantic unrest, it is not difficult to discover the chemical elements, which, when mixed together and pounded by the ruthless hand of opportunity, would cause an explosion, which, singular as it may appear, shook the very Government of England and caused so great a disturbance in the New World—that, as Fiske says, household was set against household, friend against friend, political party against political party, criminations and recriminations of treason and of unfaith were brought forth, and personal violence on several occasions indulged in.

These are the constitutional elements of the cataclysm which broke forth, but truth compels us to admit that the stubbornness, pugnacity and deep sense of personal rights of Colonel William Claiborne, together with his utter incapacity of yielding, either under a show of force, actual force, or under promise of favor or reward, precipitated it.

Before plunging into the discussion of the contention between Baltimore and Claiborne, it is also pertinent and, doubtless, interesting to all, to make some reference to the property rights obtaining in the Virginia Colony antecedent to the arrival of Colonel William Claiborne, since they bear upon the subsequent history of the Colony, and, I believe, point a moral and adorn a tale, in view of the great unrest and dissatisfaction prevailing throughout the world at that time.

The Virginia incident is, perhaps, not known to the great majority of the rulers of the present world, but if they would make themselves acquainted with the facts and hearken to them, it would cause at least those who love and support the principles of democracy to halt and pause.

As pointed out by Mr. John D. Lindsay, of the New York Bar,

who has done me the kindness and honor to write the introduction to my book, *William Claiborne, of Virginia*:

"The original charter by which James conveyed to the London Company the vast territory then known as South Virginia provided for the conveyance of lands to the settlers by tenures as liberal as those prescribed in the Gilbert and Raleigh patents; and the later charters were equally explicit as well—in this regard—as in confirming the political rights and liberties of the settlers. But these were paper guarantees. No right of private property in land was, in fact, established in the Colony until 1616. Up to that time the settlers were treated as vassals of the Company. The fields that were cleared were cultivated by their joint labor, the product being carried to common storehouses, whence it was distributed at appointed times. The houses in which they lived belonged to the Company. A community conducted on such a plan was not destined to prosper. There was no inducement to labor when there was no prospect of securing a permanent habitation, and nothing to acquire except what was bestowed on all alike. The idle and incompetent shared equally with the prudent and attentive. The Company receiving the sole benefit of labor, the exertions of even the most industrious settlers relaxed, and eventually matters came to such a pitch that the united industry of the Colony did not accomplish in a week as much as might have been performed in a single day if each individual had labored on his own account. At last, Governor Dale, realizing the folly and stupidity of such a policy, divided a considerable portion of the land into parcels, one of which was given to each individual in full property. From that moment the Colony began to advance. A different and better class of immigrants was attracted, and a new spirit was at work in the Company."

As Mr. Lindsay points out, this attempt at Socialism was a miserable and contemptible failure. There was no inducement to work as long as a man could not retain to some extent, at least for his own personal use and as his own property, the fruits of his labor. The brave man, the strong man, the faithful man, and the energetic man could not tolerate the idea that the idle and worthless should share equally in the fruits of the sweat of his

brow. Unrest arose, dissatisfaction, and the spirit of rebellion in the minds of the just, and the stupidity and folly of such a policy at last became evident. When the land had been parcelled, and each man's individuality had been stamped upon his property, he commenced to see the results of the handy work. From that moment happiness reigned, communism disappeared, and the individual came into his own. Thus, at the very beginning of this Government there was given a marked illustration of the fatuous policy which conceives that socialism is democracy, that all men are equal, and that all men are entitled to the same things.

The Colony of Maryland was more fortunate. Whether it was due to the character of their Government, or whether it was that they profited by the mistakes of the Virginia colony, that they were not molested by the Indians as much as the Virginia Colony, and that there was never a Starving Time as in Virginia, the truth is the Maryland Colony proceeded, from the very first, along a course of uninterrupted success until the unhappy incidents with which we are dealing. From the date of the first Assembly in Maryland, 1635, to the death of Lord Baltimore in 1675, the Maryland Colony grew to 20,000 souls. As man never is, but is always to be blessed, the Maryland Colony set about looking for trouble with its neighbor—and found it.

We now come to seek, and discuss after it has been found, the cause of the long-drawn-out contention between Baltimore and Claiborne—the cause of the Civil War, for it was no less, that existed for twenty odd years between the sister States of Maryland and Virginia. It has been said, if you wish to find the cause of trouble in this world: "Cherchez la femme." I believe that is true in the matter of individuals, but in politics and in wars, I believe it should be changed to these words: Cherchez la terre."

The causes in the case before us may be described as predisposing and precipitating. In short, it was a piece of land, and that land was known as Kent Island, which lies to this day in the Chesapeake Bay. The Island is not over fair, nor beautiful, nor fertile. It was presumably, at that time, well wooded, but it caught the eye of Claiborne and of Baltimore. Claiborne, in all probability, for reasons to be set forth later; Baltimore, because

he conceived it to lie within the longtitude and latitude of his grant, and because Claiborne had already settled it and possessed it before his arrival. It is about six miles square.

The State Board of Statistics of Maryland describes Queen Anne County as "a beautiful and desirable land to live in, healthy, accessible to market, the soil fertile, easy to cultivate." This was the bone of contention, to mix our metaphors.

Claiborne never at any time had any grant of land, but Charles had granted him, May 16th, 1631, a license to trade through Sir William Alexander, principal secretary of the Kingdom of Scotland. It is unnecessary to quote the license in full, but it gave him the right to "keepe a course for interchange of trade," and "to make discoveries for increase of trade in or near those parts of America for which there is not already a patent to others for trade."

William Claiborne, while he was in London, antecedent to the date of his license, formed a Company with William Clobury and others, to trade with the Virginia Indians. His license reads: "in traffic of corne, furs and any other commodities whatsoever with their shipps, men, boates and merchandise in all sea coasts, rivers, creeks, harbors, land and territories in or neare those parts of America for which there is not already a patent granted to others for trade," and the license further states that said William Claiborne and his associates are licensed and authorized to do this "without interruption."

Having secured the license and the Company having been formed, William Claiborne on the 28th day of May, 1631, set sail from Deal, England, on the ship "Africa," with a cargo of goods and 20 men servants. After a voyage of two months, the "Africa" arrived at Kecoughtan, Virginia, now Hampton, where she landed her passengers for Virginia, and then proceeded to the Isle of Kent. In 1631, Kent Island was stocked and planted by Claiborne and his partners, according to Latané. The trading post was converted into a regular plantation. In the words of Claiborne himself: "Entered upon the Isle of Kent unplanted by any man but possessed of the natives of that country, with about 100 men, and then contracted with the natives and bought their right to hold

of the crown of England to him and his company and their heirs and by force and virtue thereof, William Claiborne and his Company stood seized of the said Island."

It will be observed that Claiborne made no claim that a grant had been made him; he based his claims solely on occupancy and purchase from the Indians. Fiske, quoting Latané, remarks that Claiborne built dwellings and mills for grinding corn, laid out gardens, planted orchards, and stocked the farms with cattle. It seems that women were resident upon the Island also, a fact which has been denied, and reference is also made in the Maryland Archives to a child who was killed by Indians.

In 1632 Captain Nicholas Martian represented the Island in the House of Burgesses, and the Rev. Richard James, of the Established Church, was in charge of the settlement, to which he gave ghostly counsel and service. These facts prove that the Island was cultivated and inhabited. As Mr. Lindsay has pointed out, "Queen Elizabeth, protesting against the all-embracing claims asserted by Spain, when that nation demanded the return of the treasures captured by Drake, held it to be a doctrine of public law that neither first discovery nor a mere assertion of right could prevail against occupation in fact." She maintained that the Spaniards had no right to regions which they had merely discovered or touched upon. The naming of rivers and capes or the building of huts was not enough. They had to be held and inhabited. The same principle was recognized by James in the instructions given to the Virginia patentees in 1606, and fifteen years later Parliament, referring to the rights of Spain in America, declared that possession and occupancy only, and not the mere fact of discovery, conferred a good title. It will be seen, therefore, that in accordance with this principle, truly and verily, Claiborne held Kent Island under a valid title. It is regrettable that time and space are not permitted to develop the argument much further, or to refer at great length to the claim of Baltimore or the reasons upon which he based it. They are, however, mostly contained within the charter granted him in June, 1632, which was issued to his eldest son, Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore.

The value of this charter lies practically in two words, and at most—in a line. Here they are:

> "Certam quandam Regionem inferius describendam in terra quadam in partibus Americe *hactenus inculta et barbaris nullam divini Numinis noticiam habentibus.*"

Translated thus: "A certain region in parts of America not yet cultivated and in possession of savages or barbarians who have no knowledge of the Divine Being."

These words are taken from the charter of Maryland as granted to Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore; they were based upon the principle of the charter of Lord Baltimore to Avalon, in Nova Scotia, and according to Fiske, the charter was written by Baltimore himself. Upon this last statement hangs an irrefutable argument. Thus, Baltimore defined his own rights, and hoisted himself by his own petard.

Now let us mark two facts clearly. Kent Island was reached in July, 1631, by Claiborne, and during that year 1631 the Island was stocked and planted as described. Baltimore's charter was issued in June, 1632, to Cecilius Calvert, eleven months after Claiborne's arrival. Cecilius Calvert never saw his Palatinate in America. He ruled it through his brothers, Leonard and George, but he appointed Leonard Governor of the Palatinate.

Leonard Calvert arrived in English America on the 27th day of February, and touched first at Point Comfort, where he found a courteous letter from Governor Harvey awaiting him. The following month he sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, and on May 25th, 1634, on a small island called St. Clement, in the Potomac River, mass was celebrated for the first time in English America. Leonard's ships consisted of the "Ark" and the "Dove." Lord Baltimore seemed to recognize the wisdom of conciliating Claiborne, and directed Leonard to write to him to arrange an interview and tell him that His Lordship had heard that said Claiborne had settled a plantation within the limits of His Lordship's patent, and that he was willing to give him all the encouragement he could to proceed. Finally, he instructed his brother Leonard, in case

Claiborne refused to come to the interview, to let him alone for the space of a year.

In other words, as Fiske says, Claiborne was welcome to the property; only he must hold it as a tenant of the Lord Proprietor of Maryland—and not as a tenant of the King in Virginia. A protest from the Virginia Colony was natural and inevitable. The message of Baltimore was communicated to Claiborne, while Calvert was at Old Point. Latané states Baltimore had a personal interview with Claiborne. At the meeting of the Council on March 14th, 1634, Claiborne requested the opinion of the Board how he should demean himself in respect of Lord Baltimore's patent and his deputies then seated in the Bay. The Board answered they could not see why any such question was asked; they knew of no reason why they should render up the Island of Kent to Lord Baltimore any more than any other piece of land formerly given to the Colony by His Majesty's patent; since the right of Baltimore's grant had not yet been determined in England, they were bound in duty and by their oaths to maintain the rights and privileges of the Colony.

Backed by the Governor and Colony of Virginia, Claiborne refused to consider or confess himself a member of the Maryland Colony, and to yield his right to trade and traffic in the Chesapeake without the license of the Lord Proprietor. It is not difficult to imagine the haughty manner in which Claiborne conveyed his refusal to Leonard Calvert.

Let it be noted again, that Claiborne on that occasion refused to consider or confess himself a member of the Maryland Colony, and if it be the pleasure of this Society to stand by that statement, and to rule in the negative as to my right to enter this Society, I am prepared to accept their decision regretfully, but in recognition of the reasonableness of their objection. For my justification, however, and for my sake, I would again point out that Claiborne landed in Kent Island in July, 1631, whereas the date of the charter of Maryland, granted to Lord Baltimore, was June 20th, 1632.

A Marylander of distinction, and a historian, to-wit: Oswald Tilghman, in his "History of Talbot County, Maryland," says:

"I have collected, however, some information of the man who made the first European settlement within the bounds of what is now Maryland—of the first white man of whom we have any knowledge, who set his foot in this our own County of Talbot." Gentlemen, I await your decision.

The incidents just related constitute the predisposing cause that brought about the quarrel between the "two fruitfull sisters, Leah and Rachel," or Virginia and Maryland, as Hammond has described them.

We will next proceed to the precipitating cause.

Let us recall that Leonard Calvert arrived in America, and touched at Old Point in 1634, in the month of February. In the fall of the same year, news of the message of Lord Baltimore to Leonard Calvert, to seize Kent Island and arrest Claiborne, came to Cloberry & Company, whereupon they petitioned the King for the protection of their possessions in Kent Island. This petition drew from the King a remarkable letter, which ought to settle conclusively the meaning and intention of the license granted to William Claiborne to trade and traffic and make settlement in the waters of the Chesapeake.

The royal letter, dated October 8th, 1634, says in part, "that Baltimore's interference with the planters on Kent Island is contrary to justice and to the true intention of our grant to said Lord: we do, therefore, hereby declare our expressed pleasure to be that said planters be in no sort interrupted in their trade or plantations by him or any other in his right . . . and we prohibit as well the Lord Baltimore as all other pretenders under him or likewise to plantations in those parts to do them any violence or to disturb or hinder them in their honest proceedings and trade there." Kindly note the word "pretenders," and the strength and peremptory command contained in these words. They are clear beyond peradventure, and as at that time the King's word was law, it could not be gainsaid or ignored.

Relying upon this letter, upon the text of his license, as already quoted, its obvious meaning, as well as the support of the Council in Virginia, Claiborne continued to trade in the Chesapeake Bay and contiguous waters. On the 5th of April, 1635, a

pinnace of Claiborne's, called the "Longtail," was seized by Capt. Fleet and Capt. Humber for trading in the Maryland waters without a license from the Lord Proprietor. The "Longtail" was commanded by Thomas Smith, one of Claiborne's men. On being asked for a license, Smith showed copies of His Majesty's commission and the letter just referred to, confirming it; but the Marylanders refused to accept them, affirming that they were false copies (Calvert Papers, 141) and so both goods and vessel were confiscated. In view of the wording of Claiborne's license and the expressed command of the King, this act of the representatives of Leonard Calvert can only be described as rank, unqualified piracy on the high seas.

From this time on Claiborne took the precaution of arming his vessels to prevent them from being seized by the Maryland authorities. He was to have his revenge, and it came soon, but only after another misfortune. Claiborne sent out an armed sloop called the "Cockatrice," to make reprisals upon the Maryland vessels. On this occasion his ship was under the command of Lt. Ratcliff Warren; Calvert, however, was wide awake and sent two vessels instead of one to meet him, the "St. Helen" and "St. Margaret," commanded by Capt. Cornwalleys. In this fight the Marylanders were victors. One man on the Maryland ship was killed, while Warren and two of his men were killed and the "Cockatrice" surrendered. But the revenge of Claiborne, though delayed, was inevitable. He sent out another ship under the command of Capt. Thomas Smith and a battle was fought in the harbor of the Great Wigh Cocomoco, at the mouth of the Potomac, May 10th. In this fight, Claiborne's men were successful, and for two years thereafter Claiborne maintained himself on Kent Island in peace and continued to trade as it pleased him. Baltimore, apparently, was defeated; but he was only biding his time.

It is historically interesting just here to note that the fight of April 23d, 1635, in the waters of the Pocomoke, between Claiborne's vessel, the "Cockatrice," commanded by Lt. Ratcliff Warren, and the two vessels from St. Mary's, under Capt. Cornwalleys,

was the first naval engagement that had ever been fought in the New World between English-speaking people.

The ball was now fairly opened: Claiborne's ship had been seized in the face of the King's expressed letter, in spite of the assurance of the Council of Virginia, his own interpretations of his rights, and the clear meaning of Baltimore's charter. The times were those of force, and aggression was met with reprisal.

These incidents may be said to have precipitated and actively initiated the bitter fight between Claiborne and Baltimore, that was to be settled finally only by the Compromise of 1657.

Now, troubles of this kind were not conducive to the successful conduct of business. Fighting and business are incompatible, unless business and fighting are one. It is not surprising, therefore, that Claiborne's partners, Cloberry & Company, had become discontented because furs were not coming in in sufficient quantity to suit them. They, therefore, sent over George Evelin to look after matters. He arrived in December, 1636. At first he pretended to be an ardent supporter of Claiborne. Later on he commenced to make derogatory remarks about the Calvert family, affirming that the first Lord Baltimore was a farmer and a grazier, and that Leonard himself was a blockhead and a fool at school. In this way he probably won the confidence of the Islanders and deceived Claiborne himself for a while, but in February, 1637, Cloberry & Company sent over a cargo of goods and servants from England, and they were consigned to Evelin and not to Claiborne. With them they sent the power of attorney to Evelin, and instructions to Claiborne to turn over all goods to Evelin, to come to England to explain his proceedings and adjust his accounts before the firm. He was further ordered to make an inventory of their property and to demand of Evelin a bond for its safekeeping. In May, 1637, a few days before his departure for England, in the presence of the servants of the Island, Claiborne offered to surrender entire possession of all goods and properties of the Company to Evelin, on condition that the latter would give him a bond of three thousand pounds, not to alienate the Island to the Marylanders and not to carry away any of the servants. Evelin refused to take an assignment, would give no bond,

and said he would take possession of the Island whether Claiborne liked it or not. Again Claiborne tried to get a bond, but failed; so he finally, sailed for England, leaving Evelin in full possession of the settlement. Evelin now commenced to grow truculent, and apparently decided to throw in his lot with the Baltimore party. He made frequent visits to St. Mary's, and opened negotiations with Leonard Calvert. He tried to win over the Kent Islanders, to himself, but failed; then he resorted to force. He endeavored to induce Leonard Calvert to employ it. The latter seemed to have some conscientious scruples at first, but finally yielded; whether through weakness or purposeful moral obliquity, is not shown. At any rate, about February 25th, 1638, Leonard Calvert, leaving the Assembly in session, sailed for Kent Island with thirty choice musketeers, and is said to "have encouraged other men to accompany him and pillage and even to have contracted to buy the plunder a certain man might make."

Later on "a second expedition was made by Leonard Calvert, taking fifty musketeers with him, when he left two cannon for use at Kent Fort, Claiborne's old palisaded house. All of the Company's goods and indentured servants were then removed from the Island, doubtless under agreement with Evelin, who disposed of them later." These are the words of DeCourcy Thom, who needs no introduction here. Evelin was made commander of Kent Island, and, subsequently, Lord of the Manor of Evelinton, by Leonard Calvert. Thus the devil took care of his own.

Things were going badly for Claiborne, and certainly the mice were playing while the cat was away, but the final and crushing blow was dealt to Claiborne's hopes by the Commissioners for the Plantations, to whom the dispute over the possession of Kent Island had been referred by the King. The decision was rendered in April, 1638. The claims of Virginia to Kent Island were ignored. The decision was unequivocally in favor of Lord Baltimore. The right and title to Kent Island were Baltimore's and not Claiborne's. Tilghman, in his History of Talbot County says, referring to this incident: "It is proper to say there is some doubt in the minds of historians whether the Commissioners ever gave any opinion whatever upon the matters in controversy.

as the original documents of such decision could never be found, and a mutilated copy, of the authenticity of which there is uncertainty, is all upon which writers of the present day have to depend." Nevertheless, the validity of that document is accepted in this argument.

Within three months after the decision of the Commissioners, April, 1638, Claiborne, assisted by Sir William Alexander, obtained from Charles a letter or order commanding Baltimore to allow Claiborne, his agents or partners, full possession of Kent Island, with safety to their persons and goods, till the decision of the Lord's Commissioners. Space does not permit to cite this letter in full, but it was stern and peremptory, even mandatory, and referred to the fact that Lord Baltimore or his agents had, contrary to His Majesty's preceding orders, "seized and carried away both the persons and estates of the said planters." The letter of Charles was written in July, whereas the decision of the Commissioners was rendered in April. Charles evidently had not heard the decision at that time. This does not invalidate the meaning of the King's letter.

Surely, Claiborne's enemies now had him on the hip, but his cup was not yet full and he was to drain it to the dregs. According to Latané, the Maryland Assembly of March, 1638, which tried and sentenced Thomas Smith to be hanged (and the verdict was carried into effect), also passed a Bill of Attainder against William Claiborne, declaring him guilty of piracy and murder and that he "forfeit to the Lord Proprietor all his lands and tenaments which he was seized of on the 23d day of April, 1635."

In pursuance of this act, the property of William Claiborne on Kent Island and Palmers' Island, another of his possessions, which he had likewise purchased from the Indians, was attached and appropriated to the use of the Lord Proprietor.

The Bill of Attainder is too long to cite, but its text may be found in Scharf's "History of Maryland." The date of the Bill in the House of General Assembly was March 24th, 1637, whereas, as just noted, Latané states it was passed in March, 1638. The main point is, however, that the decision of the Commissioners followed the Bill of Attainder and, hence, the Bill of Attainder,

as applying to Claiborne, whose property had not yet been declared within the precincts of Baltimore's domain or under his authority, becomes incompetent, immaterial and irrelevant.

In order to make clear to those who are not acquainted with the nature of a Bill of Attainder, a few lines must be quoted from Mr. Lindsay's masterly exposition of that instrument: "A Bill of Attainder was an Act of Parliament for putting a man to death or for otherwise punishing him without trial in the usual form." . . . "It rested upon principles which had no application to colonial legislative bodies and certainly could have none to the Maryland Assembly, which was in no sense a Court, which exercised no functions derived from its once having been a part of the highest court of the realm, and whose functions so far as they partook in any degree of a judicial character, were limited to such acts as were necesary to enable it to perform its legislative duties. The right of the Maryland Assembly to pass a Bill of Attainder could, therefore, derive no support from the precedents and practices of the English Parliament." This places the Bill of Attainder passed by the Maryland Assembly in its proper light, and furnishes conclusive reasons for declaring it invalid as a legal document and judicial pronouncement.

But, as Fiske says, the sturdy Claiborne, crestfallen, though not yet conquered, returned to Virginia to await the turn of Fortune's wheel. His first act was to petition the Governor of the Council of Maryland, through George Scovell, to return him his estates. The Governor refused, stating that Claiborne's property, by reason of his crimes of piracy and murder, had been forfeited to the Lord Proprietor, and that if there was any other property belonging to him, he would do well to inform his Lordship's attorney of it, that it, too, might be appropriated to his Lordship's use. Failing in this, the irrepressible Claiborne resorted to force.

Then comes the Claiborne-Ingle invasion of Maryland.

Authorities agree that there is no evidence to show there was any agreement between Claiborne and Ingle. It seems evident that each seized a chance to use the other to serve his own end. Ingle was a tobacco trader and an adventurer, was said to be a Puritan, God save the Mark, was suspected of being a pirate and,

certainly, was a loud-mouthed swashbuckler. This did not make the alliance a weak one, as Fiske remarks. The invasion was altogether successful and they had control of Maryland for about two years. Claiborne recovered Kent Island, Ingle captured St. Mary's, and Leonard Calvert had to take refuge in Virginia for personal safety. The period is referred to in Maryland history as the "plundering time." Ingle and his men roamed about stealing corn, tobacco, cattle and other things, carrying off large quantities of plunder in their ships. Cornwalleys' estate was especially plundered, and good Father White was sent to England in chains on a silly charge of treason, but was promptly acquitted. There is no specific statement extant, as far as can be found, that Claiborne himself, personally, was concerned in the plundering, but when we read that Cornwalleys' estates had especial attention paid to them, it is not difficult to imagine that this particular act was inspired by Claiborne. He was certainly capable of revenge. Finally, Calvert, aided by Berkeley, in 1646 made an expedition against Claiborne and Ingle in Maryland, defeated, expelled them, and fully re-established Baltimore's authority.

The following year, 1647, Leonard Calvert died, and in the next year Baltimore appointed William Stone, a Protestant and a supporter of Parliament, as Governor of Maryland. In the following year, 1649, the famous statute known as the Toleration Act was passed by the Maryland Assembly, as drawn by Cecilius Calvert himself, without amendment. The wording of that instrument shows him a God-fearing man, broad in intelligence, universal in sympathy and mindful of the rights and convictions of others, and it is to the everlasting glory of Maryland that the first act of religious toleration in the New World was promulgated within her borders! But, alas! nothing in this world is perfect. Fiske remarks, that a statute which threatens Unitarians with death, leaves something to be desired in the matter of toleration. This Act is all the more significant since it proceeded from the pen of a Catholic, a true and faithful son of Mother Church.

But serious and momentous things were passing in England—such a revolution as that country had never known and never dreamed of. Impious hands were laid upon the sovereign of Eng-

land. He was tried, condemned and executed by some of the people over whom he ruled. Religious fanaticism mingled with popular discontent, led by a brainy and physically powerful giant, upturned society, changed government, and in the end produced social and governmental anarchy. Personally, I have no sympathy, either from a religious standpoint or a political one, with the uprising against Charles. He was merry, dissolute, profligate and fickle, but he died the death of a gentleman and a king, and in the presence of vulgarity, insolence and insult, bore himself at his trial and at his execution with royal, Christian and gentlemanly dignity. His death produced a most decided effect upon colonial matters in the New World.

Charles used to refer to Virginia as "our Kingdom of Virginia," hence it was called the "Old Dominion." In October, 1649, an act was passed in Virginia, under the Berkeley administration, whereby the execution of Charles I. was condemned, and it was declared that anyone who undertook to defend the proceedings against Charles should be adjudged accessory post factum to his death.

About 1650, the English Parliament as soon as it got free from its domestic affairs, gave to the Council of State "Power to send ships to any of said plantations and to enforce all such to obedience as stand in opposition to the Parliament." After this, some Puritans left Virginia and fled to Maryland, where they were kindly received, were given tracts of land, and were permitted local government and religious freedom. From this it is obvious that Baltimore could combine intelligent policy with religious toleration.

The Commissioners named by the Council of State were Capt. Robert Dennis, naval officer in command of a fleet, consisting of two ships; Thomas Stagg, Richard Bennett and William Claiborne. In case of the death of Capt. Dennis, Capt. Edmund Curtis, second in command, captain of the "Guinea," was to act as Commissioner and take charge of the expedition. This was a wise proviso, since the ship that bore Dennis and Stagg was lost and so the command fell to Curtis, commanding the "Guinea." Claiborne and Bennett were in Virginia at that time. Therefore, there is no reason to

suppose that their appointment was through their own influence or request. After the reduction of the Barbadoes, the "Guinea" sailed for Virginia and dropped anchor before Jamestown, in March, 1652. Berkeley immediately set about to organize a resistance, but finally thought better of it, and the Assembly, having been called together, decided to submit itself to the authority of the Commonwealth. The Articles of Surrender were most generous and were signed by Bennett, Claiborne and Curtis.

The Fourth Article bears upon Maryland, to-wit: "that Virginia shall have and enjoy the ancient bounds and limits granted by the charters of the former kings, and that we shall seek a new charter under Parliament to that purpose against any that have intrenched upon the rights thereof." This article, of course, refers more particularly to Kent Island, the original grant to the London Company, and the expressed declaration of both James and Charles with reference to its original territorial rights. It is not difficult to perceive that the rights and wishes of Claiborne fell in singularly again with the rights and wishes of Jamestown. The Colony was and ever had been faithful to Claiborne.

After the settlement of Virginia affairs, those of Maryland came next in order, and the reduction of that Colony fell to Curtis, Bennett and Claiborne, who proceeded along the lines of the written instructions given to Curtis as well as to Dennis. Arrived at St. Mary's, the Commissioners simply demanded that the Marylanders be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as now established without King or House of Lords. The Government and Council were agreeable to these demands, but when they were commanded to issue all writs and warrants in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, they strongly objected. As Stone persisted, he was deprived of his Commission by proclamation, and the Maryland Government was put into the hands of a Council of Six. But Stone later on had a change of heart, and acceded to the commands of the Commissioners. Forthwith he was reinstated.

Now the Puritans commenced to kick again and complained that Stone had imposed upon them oaths not agreeable to their consciences. Bennett and Claiborne urged upon them to be faithful,

but Stone changed coat again, and under the direction of Lord Baltimore issued a proclamation about July 4th, 1654, that henceforth all writs should be in the name of the Proprietor. Under a demonstration of force by the Commissioners and a party of Puritans, Stone resigned and William Fuller was made head of the Government.

The Puritan Assembly in October passed an act called an Act Concerning Religion, which was anything but Christian, was very anti-catholic, and formed a striking contrast to the noble and broad document of Calvert.

Baltimore was angry when he heard that Stone had again given up the Province, so he wrote him to take control again, whereupon Stone got together a force of about 130 men and marched against the settlement of Providence, flying Baltimore's flag, the beautiful flag of black and gold. But Fuller was ready for him with a force somewhat in excess of his and a couple of armed merchant ships, one British, and the other from New England, lying in the Severn. In March, 1655, there was a battle royal between the two forces. Stone was completely defeated. The standard of black and gold was dragged in the dust. One historian says, "the ground was littered with papist heads." Then the Puritans, with characteristic leniency, held a court martial, at which Stone and a number of others were sentenced to death. Four were executed, but Stone and the rest were pardoned through the intervention of women, says one historian. The Puritans were now in the ascendancy in Maryland, but their reign was short-lived. In the meanwhile, the Virginians were doing their best to keep the Maryland Government from falling again into the hands of Baltimore. They tried to get his charter revoked, but that having failed they waged a bitter academic warfare against him. Baltimore replied in kind, trying to show that it was to the advantage of the Commonwealth that Maryland should be separate from Virginia, whereas the Virginia agents set forth, first, that the Maryland Charter was an infringement of the rights of the Colony of Virginia; second, that it comprehended only unsettled lands, whereas Kent Island had been settled under the Virginia Government before the name of Maryland was ever heard

of; third, that Lord Baltimore was a Catholic and a royalist. Finally, the controversy was concluded by the Compromise of November, 1657. The terms of the Compromise were as follows:

(1) Lord Baltimore was not to call in question any act committed since the disturbance of the province began;

(2) The people in opposition were to have patents for such land as they could claim under Lord Baltimore's conditions of plantations;

(3) Lord Baltimore promised never to give his consent to the repeal of the Toleration Act of 1649, whereby all persons professing belief in Jesus Christ were allowed freedom of conscience.

(Maryland Archives, Council Proceedings, i, 332.)

By the first count of the Compromise it will be seen that the Virginia Colony took care that William Claiborne would not be molested any more by the Baltimore Government, and that no one else would be.

The differences between Virginia and Maryland were thus adjusted, and the relationship between the two Colonies became friendly, never to this day to be interrupted in any serious way. As Fiske says, "peace reigned on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, the claims of Leah and Rachel were adjusted and the fair sisters quarreled no more.

But for all that, Claiborne made one more abortive attempt to get back his Island. In January, 1677, certain Commissioners had been sent from England to Virginia to adjust the political conditions growing out of Bacon's Rebellion. These Commissioners wrote to His Majesty, Charles II., that the provinces of Maryland and North Carolina were prejudicial to His Majesty's interests in Virginia, and suggested that the Government of these provinces be assumed by His Majesty. Claiborne, an old man of almost ninety, grasped at this opportunity, like a drowning man at a straw, and addressed a pathetic letter to Charles II., petitioning him to give him back his Island, but history makes no further mention of it. Exit Claiborne from the drama.

The foregoing is an epitome of the facts in the contention between Baltimore and Claiborne. Historical justice, however, re-

quires some comment upon the claims of both, and certainly upon the reputation and character of William Claiborne.

Frankly, I am quite able to see how each one could have been convinced of the righteousness of his cause, for whatever may be our honesty or our uprightness, our point of view is inevitably influenced by our interests and our prejudices. The weight of evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of Claiborne's right. In my book *"William Claiborne, of Virginia,"* I have recapitulated fourteen arguments in favor of this view. I shall not cite them all; in fact, only a few of the most important.

I have already referred to the wording of Baltimore's Charter. The two words *"hactenus inculta,"* which mean, *heretofore uncultivated,* are sufficient grounds upon which to justify Claiborne for contending that Baltimore had no right to Kent Island. As pointed out, Claiborne had held, cultivated and inhabited the Island nearly twelve months before the date of Baltimore's charter, and two years before Baltimore landed in the New World. Moreover, the grant to the Virginia Company in 1612 embraced territory two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Old Point. This left no room for Maryland or Delaware, but King Charles I. had a way of giving the same thing to several people, and the Charter of Baltimore ought no more to have involved Maryland and Delaware than it did Kent Island, but while the Virginia Charter had been annulled in 1624, both James and Charles had expressly declared that the annulling of the Charter simply abolished the sovereignty of the Virginia Company, but did not infringe or diminish the territorial rights of the Colony. This was binding and legal, since at that time all rights in all colonies depended absolutely on the King's word. There were numerous precedents for his act in settling in the Chesapeake Bay. His attitude was endorsed in word and deed by the Virginia Colony and the Assembly, and the Island had been twice represented in the House of Burgesses, once by Nicholas Martian in 1632, and again by Robert Philpott, about 1634. The first and second letters of the King allowed of but one interpretation—that in favor of Claiborne, and, finally, he had *antecedent possession,* which is held to be nine points of the law.

But it would have been most inexpedient and inconvenient, and politically impossible for the Virginia Colony to have had jurisdiction over a piece of land and people within the longitude and latitude of Baltimore's Grant, after the establishment of the Maryland Government. By looking at the map today, one can see that Ann Arundell County is to the west of Kent Island, and Queen Ann County to the east. This would have been a nice "howdy do" politically. So that the decision of time is just expedient and equable. These things, however, do not invalidate William Claiborne's contention or position, and you could not expect either him or the Virginia Colony to look to expediency when their obvious rights were being invaded, and there is no reason to suppose that Lord Baltimore was any more far-seeing. The result is as it should be. Time, at last, brings a just decision.

It is interesting also to inquire why William Claiborne, a citizen of an inland colony, in reaching out for new fields, should have selected an island in the Chesapeake Bay, for placing his Colony, instead of selecting some inland region near Jamestown.

Now, gentlemen, I am a believer in heredity, and that belief is based upon the conclusions of science as well as upon my own observation. There is reason to know that William Claiborne was descended from *Eudo,* Duke of Brittany, and that this Eudo was descended directly from *Rolf,* the Norman Viking. The ancestor of William Claiborne in England was *Bardolph,* seventh son of said Eudo, and youngest brother to the Duke of Richmond.

And let us look for a moment at the meaning of the word "viking." Most people look upon the word as implying a ruler of the sea, sea king or sea robber. The accent should be, not upon *"king,"* but upon *"vik,"* and the word is a present participle. We read that the old Norseman went *Aviking.* The etymology of *viking* (Norse) is not quite certain, some holding that *vik* is used in the sense of a *bay* or *harbor,* and some, as of a more extensive piece of the sea, like the Skaggerack.

A Viking originally was a Norseman who sailed around in the bays and harbors, and made short sea trips. Later these men became robbers or sea rovers, or pirates. I think it is possible, if not probably, that the blood of the Vikings moved Claiborne to

pick a piece of land somewhere by the sea. He must have loved the salt breezes of the Chesapeake, and in his nostrils was the breath of the north winds. He was truly a viking since he spent a large part of his life sailing around in the bays and harbors of the Chesapeake. We see a distinct roving impulse here, and to some extent, a predatory one, as his enemies affirm. I believe this was the moving impulse which drove him to this Island and made him love it, but, in all these matters, perversity, wilfulness and desire of possession played no insignificant part in his attitude, and it is just to accuse Baltimore of the same. They were men well matched in tenacity of purpose, persistence, cleverness and resource. Claiborne lost and Baltimore won because Claiborne was a simple gentleman, with nothing but his own sword, his own courage, his ability and an impelling personality. Baltimore was a prince, a vice-regent, whose bidding was done by his hirelings or relatives.

This leads us to make some analysis of Claiborne's character. There has been no man in the history of this country who has been more execrated, abused and villified than he. Burk refers to him as an unprincipled incendiary and an execrable villain. Others have called him the "Bane of Maryland," others the "Evil Genius of Maryland," and in all histories he is known as "Claiborne the Rebel"; but the Maryland Assembly reached the climax of injustice in attainting him of the crimes of piracy and murder. This accusation remained unchallenged, without contradiction, until within the last sixty years. Since that time unprejudiced historians have studied him more seriously, and, it is safe to say, that he now has as many admirers and friends as he once had enemies. It is bootless to go into this discussion very far, but if you will allow me, I will recapitulate the various offices and commissions he held during his long life of ninety years, to show what manner of man he was:

(1) Royal Surveyor under James I.

(2) Successful Commander in the Indian Campaign of the Jamestown Colony in 1624.

(3) Secretary of State of Virginia and member of the Council, 1625-1638;

(4) Commissioned by Governors Harvey, Yeardley and Pott to trade and explore;

(5) Commissioned by Charles I. to trade in the Chesapeake, 1621;

(6) Appointed Treasurer for life of "Our Kingdom of Virginia" by Charles I., 1642;

(7) Commander-in-General of all the Colonial forces in the Campaign against the Indians, 1644-45:

(8) With Richard Ingle ruled Maryland, 1644-45;

(9) Ruler of Maryland, as Parliamentary Commissioner, with Bennet, 1652;

(10) Secretary of State, under the Commonwealth, throughout its duration, 1652-58;

(11) Nominated by Sir William Berkeley as Secretary of State, confirmed by the Assembly, during the Interregnum, when Richard Cromwell had abdicated, 1659;

(12) According to Neill, again honored with the Secretaryship of Virginia, in the Restoration, and in 1666 chosen a member of the Legislature.

This is no man to be dismissed incontinently by prejudiced, mendacious or superficial historians. He could not have fooled James I., Charles I., the Virginia Assembly, the Governors of Virginia, Cromwell, who knew men as no other man knew them, or his inveterate enemy, Sir William Berkeley, who, notwithstanding the fact that Claiborne had run him out of Jamestown and forced him into seclusion, yet selected him as Secretary of State during the Interregnum; nor Charles II., who hated all Cromwellians, the enemies and slayers of his father, and who again honored William Claiborne during his reign with the Secretaryship. He has, also, been called a trimmer and a turncoat. In the language of the day, a trimmer and a turncoat could not have gotten away with all these honors.

I am satisfied to leave his character in the hands of future historians.

But he is called a rebel by everybody. I think I can show that this is totally unjust. Now, a rebel is "one who revolts from the Government to which he owes allegiance, either by openly re-

nouncing the authority of that Government or by taking arms and openly opposing it. A rebel differs from an enemy, as the latter is one who does not owe allegiance to the Government which he attacks." I maintain that William Claiborne was an enemy to Lord Baltimore and not a rebel, since at no time was he under the jurisdiction of Baltimore. There are three acts of his upon which his enemies may base this accusation:

The first is his retaliation, after the capture of the "Longtail," in his fight with the "St. Margaret" and the "St. Helen," in the Pocomoke. The King had clearly defined his mind in his letter, that Claiborne and his men had a royal license to trade in the Bay and near water, and he sternly forbade all men and particularly Lord Baltimore and his men, to interfere with, arrest, or molest him. The King's word was law. Moreover, Claiborne was not under Baltimore's jurisdiction, and the decision of the Commissioners as to the ownership had not yet been rendered.

The second is the Claiborne-Ingle invasion of Maryland. Since his Island had already been confiscated and he was living in Virginia at the time, he could not have acted as a rebel against Baltimore in that invasion, but as an enemy and an invader.

The third is the reduction of Maryland. On that occasion he was the accredited representative of the *de facto* English Government. He could, therefore, in this case, by no technicality or meaning be considered a rebel to Baltimore. He was also tried in London before the Court of Admiralty as a pirate. The record of those proceedings are to be found in the Archives of the Maryland Historical Society of Baltimore. Mr. Francis B. Culver, of Baltimore, has furnished me with excerpts of those documents and I have analyzed them at considerable length. They consist of accusation and counter accusation on the part of Cloberry and Claiborne, under the titles of "libel" and "answer."

The proceedings were held before the Worshipfull Sir Henry Marten, Judge of His Majesties' High Court of the Admiralty. It would require the judgment of a Solomon to render a decision from the evidence and while the discussion can not be said to reflect credit on either one, neither one is judicially discredited. The divergence of the two litigants was not so much a question of

veracity, as point of view. I frankly think that Claiborne made a stronger case against Cloberry, than the latter against him. Though these proceedings were held for the King against Claiborne in 1638-1639, no mention is made of a decision, and in 1642, Charles conferred the great honor upon Claiborne of appointing him Treasurer of the Colony for life. Subsequent to this, honors were conferred upon him by the Virginians, even by Cromwell and by Charles II. The matter evidently had been dismissed, or quashed.

Though in the end Claiborne lost—lost his Island and his heart's desire, he nevertheless was indemnified by extensive land grants by "Virginia in recognition of his services and for the loss of Kent Island, aggregating far more than the acreage of the lost Isle—according to De Courcey Thom, more than forty thousand acres. From having been in the commencement of his career an inconspicuous private gentleman, with no means save his good broad sword, intelligence, vigor, unconquerable will, and a noble name, he rounded his career wealthy in acres, honored by kings, rulers and his own fellow-Virginians. Amongst the tall and haughty figures in the drama in which he played part, he was conspicuous, and his name will never pass from the records of the pioneer history of Maryland and Virginia. He died in 1677, in New Kent County, which he had organized and settled twenty years before, and had named in remembrance of his old settlement on the Chesapeake. His descendants in men and women have been estimated at many thousands. Some of them have written their names on the imperishable records of American manhood, achievement and valor, and I believe that none should take aught to himself but honor from the fact that the blood of that virile and tenacious Englishman runs in his veins. He was the avatar of that self-centered individualism which marked the men of his epoch in the New World, and more particularly, those in the region where he lived—the South. The individualism which produced democracy and which by agglutination later formed self-governing municipalities, and, ultimately, States—that individualism which created the idea of States' rights, whereby this country was once disrupted, and which still seems to persist. He loved

Virginia with a burning love that still lives in the hearts of his descendants. He was the champion and defender of her territorial rights, of constitutional and personal liberty, and, finally, was essentially, and altogether, human.

Two hundred and eighty-two ago the Bill of Attainder was passed by the Maryland Assembly, and William Claiborne was declared guilty of the crimes of piracy and murder, his Island was confiscated and he was declared an outlaw in Maryland. To-night, the State of Maryland represented by you, gentlemen, have extended to me the right hand of fellowship and good will, and have invited me to become a member of the Maryland Society in New York. I accept, with pleasure, grateful for the honor you have done me, and, in the name of William Claiborne, I extend to you the assurance of his distinguished consideration and friendship and my own.

ANTHONY LANGSTON[1] ON TOWNS, AND CORPORATIONS; AND ON THE MANUFACTURE OF IRON.

Right Honble & my Gracious Lord,

I have since your Lordshipps Command according to my weak capacity seriously weighed what his Majesty in order to his gracious favor towards the Plantation of Virginia may do for us, and I find, with humble submission to your Lordshipps great wisdom, Townes & Corporations stored with Trades and Manufactures the onely defect wee have to make us the most flourishing and profitable Plantation his Majesty hath: The maine reason, why wee have not yet attained to them (I humbly conceive) hath been for want of Iron, and steele, whereby the Smiths Trade might goe forward, wch is the foundation of all other Arts: This hath been attempted by some Adventurers to Virginia, but it being a design, that requires a great disbursement, and a considerable time before it can be effected, and they at their comeing into the Country have found quicker wayes to make profitable returns, have left this great generall good design for a present, though much more uncertain private Advantage, if this were brought to passe in Virginia, there are many other Trades, that will soon and easily follow, wch now stand still for want of Tooles and Instruments to be made, and repaired, when they have occasion, many opportunities hapning to the Gentlemen that live there to go forward with this that or t'other good design, wch before they can send to England for such instruments as are necessary thereto, their Advantages, and occasions stand clear another way, therefore I look upon this as the first moveable, that may carry about all other designs, tending to the setting up of any Trades or Manufactures whatsoever; but because your Lordps.

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[1]On March 24, 1657, the General Assembly granted a commission to Major William Lewis [or Harris], and Mr. Anthony Langston to discover the mountains and westward parts of the country to endeavour the finding out of any commodities that might possibly tend to the benefit of this country. Journals of House 1619-1659, p. 106. See also note on Langston in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, v. 18; p. 412.

Commands were intermixt wth this, and what other soever might be convenient: I shall set this aside at present to inform your Lordshipp something of Corporations.

Townes & Corporations have likewise been much hindred by our manner of seating the Country; every man having Liberty upon the right of transporting of persons to take up Land (untaken before) and there seat, build, clear, & plant without any manner of restraint from the Government in relation to their Religion, and gods Service, or security of their persons, or the peace of the Country, so that every man builds in the midst of his own Land, and therefore provides beforehand to take up so much at the first Patent, that his great Grandchild may be sure not to want Land to go forward with any great design they covet, likewise the conveniency of the River from Transportation of their Commodities, by which meanes they have been led up and down by these famous Rivers (wch I think all the world cannot paralell) to seate in a stragling distracted Condition leaving the inside of the Land from the Rivers as wast for after Comers, and to draw those off from their now made Seates to bring them to a more convenient & Secure condition they would think the greatest oppression in the world, therefore it will be very difficult to settle anything of a Town, or Corporation by the antient Inhabitants, unless it be by some few perticulers, to whom it may be an Advantage to come in after something is begunn by new Transported people, wch must be contrived to be such trades as are convenient to the Country, and can be sett at worke at their severall Trades as soon as they come there, such are all Trades, as belong to the building of ordinary brick houses, as Brickmakers, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Sawyers, Joiners, Plaisterers, Coopers, Glasiers, and Smiths, Tanners may likewise be immediately set to work, and not long after them Shoemakers, Millwrites, both for Saw mills & Corn Mills may likewise be set at work, and Boatwrites to build small Vessells & Boates: All these sett at work the first year well followed will easily make a brave accommodation for those that shall be thought fitt to be sent in the second year after them; such will be Hemp and/Flax Dressers, Roape makers, Soape Boilers, Potash men, Felt makers, Beaver makers, & divers other

Trades, wch upon longer Consideration may be found convenient to be sent over, and there employed to great Advantage to such as shall be by his Majty. encouraged, to transport them over, and the great good of the Country not onely by helping them to these Commodities, which now they want, but much more, by what they will take off from the excessive quantity of Tobacco by imploying severall people that now have their sole Imployment in planting that Drugg: These Trades aforementioned being transported thither had best (in my opinion) be seated so farr up the River, as to be above the Salt waters for many reasons.

First, the fresh water air is farr more healthfull, & free from those ill Sents, and Foggs, & vapors, wch the salt water is subject to, wch breeds those Agues, Feavers, Dropsies, and Lethargies, which in the Country they call the Seasonings.

Secondly, Provision of all sorts flesh, fish, & fowle will be had much more plentifull, and at halfe the price they can be bought for in the lower parts.

Thirdly, the River within the Freshes is narrow and deep that vessells may ride safe before the Town, and near the shore wch is steep too, that all sorts of Vessells may easily come ashore & unlade, wch in the broad Rivers is far otherwise for there it generally makes shoales of at least half a mile from drie ground, so that no vessell can come a shore from half Ebb to half Flood.

Fourthly, for the Conveniency of Shipps and Vessells rideing in the Summer time free from the worm, wch the salt water doth so abound with, that a Vessell that lyeth there but a month any time betwixt May & September will be soe honycomb'd & eaten, that she will hardly ever be made sound again.

Therefore I conceive a height of the River will be most convenient to seat the Town, as will well receive a Shipp of 400 Tunn burden in fresh water higher will be inconvenient for the Shipps, and lower bad for the health and other inconveniences to the Inhabitants.

Every thing that causes a Concourse of people from the Country will be assistant to this Corporation, and therefore it will bee convenient to order the Administration of Justice to the Neighbouring Countries to be settled there, and wch will soon occasion

a necessity of Trade between the Town & Country; Merchandize likewise may be settled here, and the receipt of those Duties belonging to his Majesty, and the entry of such Commodities as are brought into that part, and sale of them there may soon I presume ease us of that great prejudice wee now suffer for want of Markets, Trades and Manufactures.

The Iron work must of necessity be placed where the stone, and other Conveniences are which is at least 40 miles within fresh water; what will be necessary to that design, and what Expences it will amount to, and what profitt & Advantage will arise from it, I shall a little better inform my self, and speedily give your Lordshipp an account, and whatsoever may ly in the capacity of your Lordshipps,

Most Faithfull
&
obedient Servant
Anthony Langston.

Endorsed, Letter from Anthony/Langston.

The first thing in order to the setting up of an iron work is Millwrights, to set up the severall Mills, both for the Forge, and Furnace, and of this it will be needfull to carry more than sufficient to do the business, because of the casuality of their Lives, least by the Death of a Master workman, the whole design comes to stand still at great charge, till another be sent for in his room, therefore I propose to carry 3 master-Millwrights, whose Charge of Transportation at the rate of 10£ ℔ pole, and dyett at 5£ pole, & wages at 20£ ℔ pole is in all 30£ ℔ pole, wch 3 amounts to at the rate £105

I propose likewise to carry over two master Smiths, and 2 master Carpenters for the makeing such Implements, as may not be foreseen, and building such houses as will be needfull for the accommodation of the people, and assisting the Millwrights, & these will be carryed at no lesse rate then the former, so that these 4, at the rate of 35£ ℔ man amounts in all to £140

This extraordinary Charge of 245 pounds cometh by reason of the remoteness of the Country from England, and this being a new design to be sett up there where Artists are not to bee had at any rate in case of the failing of any of those wee shall carry; therefore (I presume) it will be better to be double provided, then to be subject to want, and in case that all the Tradesmen live, and do well there may be Employmt. found for them to sett up all sorts of Mills by private men in the Country, who are forward enough (if they had men that are able) to undertake it, and with them they may work for wages at profitable rates to repay those disbursements with good Advantage, that have been laid out upon them.

With these, and the Labourers that are afterwards to be employed in the digging of stone, cording of Wood, & carrying of Coale to make Iron, I presume the Forge & Furnace may be compleated in a year, and settled to work, and therefore I shall proceed to the Calculacon of the labor, and number of workmen, then what the product of their Labour may amount unto.

I presume it will be the easiest way of Demonstration to make a Computacon of the Charge of 500 Tunns of Iron may come unto, to be made in Virginia, and what that is worth is easily known.

Five hundred Tunns of Iron will require ten thousand Cords of Coard-wood, and tis a days work for a man to corde one Cord of Cord-wood, therefore it requires 10000 days work for the cording of the wood, I shall allow one man to do 250 dayes work in a year at rate it will require 40 men to coard the wood, the men will cost in Transportacon 10£ ℔ pole, in dyett 5£ ℔ pole, and in wages, or cloathing 3£ ℔ pole; This reckoned according to the Custom of Virginia come to 42£ ℔ pole for 4 years service, wch comes to 10£ 10s. ℔ ann. for every man, at wch rate the 40 men will amount to 420£ for the Cording the wood. £420

The carrying of the Cole will be near about the same Labor, will require the same number of people, and therefore I shall set that down at the same Charge of 420£

I hope the stone will prove so good as to go not much more than 3 Loades to a Tunn of Iron, but however I shall calculate at 4 Loades to a Tunn, the stone lyes convenient to the Topp of the ground, and therefore a man may well dig a Load in a day, so that 2000 dayes work will raise as many Loades of stone, wch at the rate of 250 dayes work will require 8 men, to which I add as many more to load, and unload, and to drive Cart, wch makes them 16, wch at the former rate of 10£. 10s. is £168

There is no Lime stone nearer then the falls of the River to be had, therefore that must be brought downe from thence by Boate, and men allowed to digg and loade it, to wch I allow 3 men to digg stone, 3 to the Boate, and 3 to the Load, and 3 to unloade, wch makes at the former rate..£126

There must be at the Furnace the Founder, and his Mate, wch because they must be good Artists, and upon whom I reckon the whole design depends much, it will be necessary to be double furnisht, so that 4 of them at the Charge of the former Tradesmen will amount to 30£ ℔ pole, wch is 120£

There will require a Clerk at the Forge, and another at the furnace wch I rate at the charge of 3 Labourers a piece wch is 6, and 4 men more to the Furnace, and 8 Forge-men, in all 18 men, wch makes at the former rate .....189£

I reckon for extraordinary Labourers for the getting Provisions, looking to cattle, fishing, fowling, and for the supplying the place of any other Labourer, that shall by sicknesse, or any Infirmity be absent from his work 20 men, wch at the former rate is .....210£

For Iron work for the mills, & Bellowes to the Forge and Carpenters, Smiths, & Millwright Tooles.....£150

I reckon for Sallery to the Supervisor over all these Labourers and Officers £150

For Cart wheeles & Harnesse £100

For 30 yoake of Oxen at the rate of 10£ a yoke.....£300

For Sallery to a Chirurgeon £50

For Sallery to a Minister £50

The Summ of all is £2700

Upon wch Disbursements I propose to make 500 Tonns of Iron, the difficulty of building houses, Forgemill & Furnace will notwithstanding wch when they are once sett to work in order, and a Settlement of Plantations for the raising of Provisions all things will be effected, at a much lesse Charge: The 500 Tunns of Iron at a very low rate will be worth 12£ Tunn, wch amounts to at that rate £6000

I hope I have reckoned rather too large then sparingly in the money to be disbursed (in the Allowance of Labour I am sure I have gone very large) and yet it amounts to above Cent ℔ Cent profitt upon the first disbursement, wch when things are settled in a course, and ready way of Labour I doubt not but Dyett may be had at as low a rate, as they have that live there now, and plant Tobacco, wch is so small a matter, that it is not at all considerable, and now it amounts to almost half the disbursemt, besides I have not added, what may be made of cast Iron for the Countries use, and of all manner of edge Tooles, wch may be made when the work is perfected, which may very well defray all Charges but Cloathing & Transportation of a constant Supply of Labourers, at every 4 yeares end.

Endorsed, Computation of an Iron/work in Virginia.

(From British Transcripts, Library of Congress.)

LETTERS OF ROBERT PLEASANTS, OF CURLES.

Virginia 8 mo. 20th 1774.

Dr. Friend

This is intended by the Commissioners from this Colony appointed to meet in General Congress at Philadelphia on American affairs, and to recommend them to thy perticular notice as men of influence & Capacity Viz. Peyton Randolph, Rd. Bland, Patrick Henry, R. H. Lee, E. Pendleton B Harrison, G. Washington, who have deserved well for their attachmt to the interests of their country, and most if not all of them for their favourable sentiments & services to Friends, as well in a legislative as private Capacity, perticularly our Friend Patrick Henry to whose character & Centiments thou art not altogether a stranger. I doubt not thou wilt be well pleased with an acquaintance with several of them and believe any marks of friendship or favours thou may confer on them (which no doubt will be agreeable to every man in a strange country) will not be unworthily bestowd, may tend to promote the good opinion they generally entertain of Friends and will lay an additional obligation on me and am with very Kind respects to Self & Yours.

Thy affect. Friend

Robert Pleasants.[1]

Anthony Benizette

Virginia 8 mo 20th 1774.

Esteemed Friend

This is intended by the Genelemen Commissionrs appointed from this Colony, to meet in General Congress in Philadelphia,

[1]For an account of the Pleasants's family, by J. Hall Pleasants, see Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Volume 16, 17, and 18. These letters are copied from the letter-book of Robert Pleasants now in the possession of Miss Lutie Pleasants of Richmond, Va. John Pleasants the first of the name in Virginia married Mrs. Jane Tucker; their son John married Dorothy Cary; their son John III, married Margaret Jordan: their children were Robert, Samuel, and John. Robert the son of John III was the author of the letters now printed.

Viz. Peyton Randolph late Speaker, Rich[d] Bland, Patrick Henry R[d] Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton Benj. Harrison & George Washington, who I beg leave to recommend to thy notice as men of the first rank in point of Capacity among us, & who have distinguished themselves on many occasions to be worthy the Trust reposed in them, and in divers instances have been perticularly respectful & servicable to Friends; any favourable notice therefore which thou may find convenient to distinguish them with will no doubt be very agreeable to them & be esteemed by me as done unto. Thy Obliged & very respectful Friend

Robt. Pleasants.

To Wm. Fisher
P. S. The remaining Bills on
Joseph Wharton are inclosd.

Virginia 2d mo. 22d 1774

Dear Friend

I have now to acknowledge the receipt of thy Favours of the 8[th] 4 mo. 1[st] 1 mo last together with the Booke directed to my care for Edw[d] Stabler & Patrick Henry,[2] which were duly forwarded; I have had very little opertunity of being in P. H.[s] Company for some months past, but think to call to see him at his own House towards the latter part of this week, If I should be favourd with Health &c to attend our Quarterly Meeting in that neighbourhood; when I propose presenting him with one of the last two Collections thou wert so kind to send, and have much reason to believe both that as well as the other Books sent him will be very kindly accepted, as those are which thou hast at divers times presented me with, and wish I could meet with anything this way which would afford thee pleasure or agreeable amusement.

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[2]See a letter of Roger Atkinson to Samuel Pleasants, Oct. 1, 1774, in which he refers to Patrick Henry in the following manner: "The 4th a real half Quaker, Patrick Henry, your brother's man, moderate and mild, and in religious matters a saint but the very devil in Politicks—a son of Thunder—Boan Erges—the Patriotic Farmer will explain this—I know it is above your Thumbs." In the same letter the writer describes the other delegates. Va. Magazine of History and Biography, v. 15, p. 356. See Henry's Henry, v. 1, p. 197.

I think the Phisition has handled the subject of Slavery in a masterly manner, altho I suppose he may have very little reason to expect to share with his antagonist the thanks of the Affrican Company, but let that be as it may, he will receive what I expect will be more agreeable to him, the approbation of Judicious sencible men. I highly approved & sincerely wish the several petitions to the King & Parliament may have the desired effect, but I fear there is not virtue & resolution sufficient to forgo or withstand a present (tho' false & imaginary) interest in the continuation of a wicked & distructive Trade. I have sent one of the papers containing the address & advice to those Mercht., to the Printer, and doubt not they will shortly appear in our Gazette and as it seems the attempts of our Assembly to prohibit the further Importation of Slaves by an imposion of high Dutys, has been frustrated (as I find is the case in N. york) does thou not think that Acts of the Colonys making all free after a certain term of Servitude like other foreigners taking place at a future period so as that all concerned in the Trade might have notice of such law, would not be (when accompaned with pertinant reasons) more effectually to put an end to it, and be more likely to be approved by the King & Council than a prohibition by Duties for I have been told our Governor (& its not unlikely others also) has instructions to pass no such laws. I just drop this hint for thy consideration, and am my kind friend with love to thee & wife. Thy affect. Friend.

Robt. Pleasants.

To Anthy Benizett

Curl's 11 mo. 16th 1771.

My Dear Son

I read thy letter by Ben; & was pleas'd to find thou likd Philada. so well, and that thou had a good heart to undergo the operation thou had undertaken. My earnest desire & prayer is that thou may be preserved through every danger both outward & inward, and that thou may so conduct as to be happy in thy self, and a Comfort to thy Dear Friends who are nearly interested in thy welfair. To accomplish these desirable ends, I know of

no way but that which our worthy antients & forefathers have trod, that is, a steady attention to the dictates of the divine Spirit manifested in every heart, teaching what is right & what is wrong, and rewarding accordingly with Blessings or otherwise. O may it be thy fix'd resolution & constant care ever to be mindfull of thy Duty so as not to suffer any present enjoyments or Sensual delights to divert or entice thee from a perseverance in the narrow way which leads to life eternal. I got well home with thy sister on the 8th Inst. but got overset on the way owing to the badness of the Roads, But received no hurt by it except some Damage to the Chaise & Harness which put us to some difficulty, being at a place we could not easily get them repaired. Thy sisters writes thee by this opertunity and to them I refer for perticulars respting thy acquaintance here. Thy Trunk is sent by this vessel and besides the Cloths as under, thou wilt find thy whip, which was suppos'd to be lost the other side Potomack, but was found abt. 4 miles on this side by a person going to Maryland, and was by mere accident discover'd & claim'd by Gerard Hooe, thou wilt also find in the little Trunk 20 dollars and 4 half Jos, the latter of which I desire thou wilt lay out in something for thy four Cousins Jessey, John, Sally & Robert in something that may be pleasing as a present from their unkle, in which thou may consult thy Aunt; there are also a role of Tobo. which I expect is very fine, and desire unkle Pembertons acceptance of, also a few bits of Citteron which may be agreeable to thy aunt or Cousins.

Wishing thee all Happiness I conclude

Thy very affect. Father

R. Pleasants.

Virginia 11 mo 16th 1771.

Dear Brother

I wrote thee of the 3d Inst. from W. River to which refer & have now to advise thee of my safe return with my Dear Nancy, & the welfair of our Relations in a general way. It would give me great pleasure to have the same information from thee respecting thy Family, & the recovery of my Dear son, who I expect before this may be under enoculation, and doubt not thy kindness in

contributing to my sattisfaction therein, as soon, or by the first operty. after the distemper may turn; and whether it should be the will of Providence to be in his favour or not, it could by no means lighten the affliction to defer the acct.

By the Schooner Industry Capt. Gilbirt I have Ship'd 700 Bush. wheat 400 of which on acct of our Fathers Estate & the other 300 on my own which please dispose of in the best manner thou canst and render sales thereof accordingly, thou wilt find from the uncommon demand for wheat the price is risen with us to 4/6, & hope it will be in thy power to obtain a higher price for this than thou got for Barry's cargo, or there must of course be a considerable loss on it. I suppose T. P. will inform thee of the terms of the Charter of this Vessel together with whatever may be necessary respecting the other part of the Cargo. I send enclos'd a measure for a pr. of stays for my Daughter Polly & two pr. leather shoes for Nancy which please to send by return of this vessel with the things befor ordered if not already sent.

Since my return I recd. Capt. Montgomerys Acct. of Port Charges at the Offices, which thou sometime ago desired might be sent, and having deliver'd them to T. P. for that purpose expect he hath forwarded them by this operty.

My dear love to my Sister & the children. Thy Lovg. & affect. Bror.

Robt. Pleasants

P. S. Please let me have a Copy of my acct by return of the Schooner if its convenient.

Curls 11 mo 22d 1771.

Dear Brother

In compliance with thy request, I have now to advise that (tho' the price is not certainly fixed) some of the new Crop of Corn hath been sold at 12/6 per barl. and from the demand there seems to be so early in the season, I have no expectation of the price being less on this River. I thought it was necessary to give thee this intelligence as soon as possible that thou might be better able to Judge what was most for thy interest to be done in securing the quantity thou may want. If I can at any time be serviceable to thee in that, the sale of Iron (which I suppose

would readily command £20 per Ton this money at about 4 or 6 mo. Cr) or any other matter thou may freely command. I happen'd lately in company wth. one John Walker who is consern'd wth a Compy in Liverpoole who does much Business to this River, and hapning to mention Crosbys & Trafford he tels me that it was fully believed when he left home that the whole of their Debts would be paid & money to Spare, and was well advised that no Effects of theirs could be got at in this Country, but, would advice thee as soon as possible to forward a power of Attorney with thy acct. properly proved to thy correspondant there in order to make a demand of thy dividend which he apprehended would be made by the time such acct. could get to hand if not before; He gave me leave also to mention their Company to thee, whose firm is Dobson Dalhra & Walker and that they would do thee any service in their power; they are counted a Rich Comp. and have done business much to the sattisfaction of People this way, believe none are more capable. Our Journey on the whole was tolerably agreeable except one accident which we met with the day after we left W. River in overseting the Chaise & damaging some of the harness & the Iron by which the off Horse pulled—being in a part of the country that did not afford a smith or scarcely a Cobler, but through mercy Nancy or my self recd. no hurt. It was a bad piece of Road much gully'd on one side & a fince & logg on the other, and endevering to shun the first the other wheal hit a snagg of the logg tho' if the top had not been up I believe it would not have overset; I had presence of mind to clear myself & Dear Nancy as quick as possible, & the Boy being just befor stop'd the Horses very soon. I thought it a mercy we came off so well for had we broke any Bones, It is perhaps the most dismal part of the road & the least capable of giving assistance.

Nancy is bravely & joins me in Love & Duty to the Sister & Cousins with our Frds at W. R. Thy affect. Bror. R. P.

Curl's 12 mo. 17th 1771

Dear Brother

Thy very acceptable letter of the 26th ult. giving an acct.

of my Dear Sons recovery from the small Pox came duly to hand since which, I have recd. one from him dated the 29th, and had a sight of thine to T. P. of the 30th both confirming the same most agreeable inteligence; but thine of the 23d which thou says was wrote by Holden is not come to hand. I observe thy proposal of being concerned in the purchase of 4 or 5000 Bushs. wheat in case it could be bought here for 4/3 or 4/4 payable in April, but as wheat now generally commands 4/6 and in such great demand that it is become almost a ready money article it is uterly out of our power to comply with thy terms, indeed I don't know whether so large a quantity could be now had even on those terms, however if thou should think proper to direct, we would do the best we could in the purchase, perhaps it might answer to load partly with Indian corn which I suppose might now be engaged at 2/6 but is generally expected to rise. Tho' I am not at present certain whether it might be convenient for us to be concern'd especially as thou don't say what Market it is intended and what prospect there may be of its [?].

I find there is little prospect of getting any money from Bannister this year, and as there is a considerable Debt due from our Fathers Estate to Dobson Dalhra & Walker, beside some Country Debts, I dont at present see how the Ball. due on the Bond to the Widdow Harrison can be paid with this Crop, but if she is not in emediate want of the money it will make but little difference to the Estate because Bannester's Bond will now carry Interest as well as the other, I will however do every thing in my power to accomplish it. My last was by Capt. Gilbert and inclos'd Bill of Lading for 700 Bush. wheat; 400, of which, on acct of the Estate & 300, on my own, which I hope before this got safe to hand; the measures for the stays & Shoes for my Girls I find were omitted to be sent, and are now enclos'd and am with much love & affect. to thee & thine, and also to Bobby, and my good Friends who he informs me have taken particular notice of him I am

Thy oblig'd Bro.

R. P.

To. Sam. Pleasants.

JOHN CLAYTON, OF JAMES CITY, AFTERWARDS OF CROFTON, YORKSHIRE.

[Sloane 1008. f. 335]

James City

Honour'd Doct. Ap. the 24 [16]84.

I am now in Virginy in good health god be praisd we had a tedious long voiage twelve weekes twixt land & land as to noveltys I can give you no account tis the multitude distract me & the shortnesse of my time will not permit tis now our Great Assembly & on Sunday by a peculiar order from the Govener & Councell I am to preach so that somthing peculiar is expected & I must mind my hits to preserve that blooming repute I have got I have had the happinesse to be cried up farr beyond my deserts the people are peculiarly obliging, quick & subtile. The land fertile comodious pleasant & healthfull saveing only the Distemper of the Colick that is predominant & has miserable sad effects it begins wth violent gripes wch declineing takes away the use of limbs their fingers stand stifly bent the hands of some hang as if they were loose at the wrists from the arms, they are scelatons so meager & leane that a consumption might seeme a fatning to them, cruelly are they distracted wth a flatus & at length those that seemeingly recover are oft troubled wth a sort of a gout pray send me yr opinion wt course might be most proper for I dread it myself. And direct me wt Authors have writ concerning it I would now give you a further account of the Country but that then my thoughts might be as wild as the place it is all one continued wood but take this in short its a place where plenty makes poverty, Ignorance ingenuiety, & coveteousnesse causes hospitality that is thus every one covets so mch & There is such vast extent of land that they spread so far they cannot manage well a hundred pt of wt they have evry one can live at ease & therefore they scorne & hate to worke to advantage themselves so are poor wth abundance They have few Scholars so that every one studys to be halfe Physitian halfe Lawyer & wth a naturall accutenesse would amuse thee for want of bookes they read men the more

Then for the third thing Ordinarys [?] Inns are extreame expensive wherefore wth a comon impudence they'le goe to a mans house for diet & lodgeings tho they have no acquaintance at all rather than be at the expense to lie at an Inn & being grown into rank custom it makes them seem liberall when the trouble of our Generall Assembly [is over a] full account of affairs I shall then send but this busie time happening so imediately after my comeing here makes both my hands full yet I was resolvd to force me to scrawl a line or two to him I so mch respect & shall ever honer & the Dear Dr. Williamson whom I shall ever desire to oblige & serve as a Faithfull friend

J Clayton.[1]

Pray send me an account of all new bookes Experimts or other things happen Amongst the patients you may perhaps meet wth some one has a peculiar knack at makeing cheese a very good Chesshire cheese might oblige & should not be wth out a returne wt ever you would send to me letter or so forth directing it for me at James Citty Virginy. Sending it to Mr. Perry & Lane Merchants in London.

My humble respects & service to that honest dear rogue H Harper & his brothers as also to the Apothecarys &c our friends.

[From British transcripts, Library of Congress.]

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[1]This letter was written by John Clayton, who was minister at Jamestown from 1684 to 1686. He was in May, 1688, rector of Crofton in Yorkshire. Dr. L. G. Tyler calls attention in his Cradle of the Republic (p. 141) to a letter of Clayton to Robert Boyle, dated at Jamestown, June 23, 1684. The present letter is in the Sloane manuscripts 1008, f. 335, and the text is from the copy in the series entitled British Transcripts in the Library of Congress. This John Clayton is not to be confused with the John Clayton, the botanist. The author of this letter was also the author of the well known letters descriptive of Virginia, published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, v. 17 and 18, and v. 41. See Swem, E. G. Bibliography of Virginia, Part I, nos. 1018, 1019, and 1020. This letter may have been written to Dr. Nehemiah Grew, to whom we know that he wrote in 1687 about Virginia after his return to England (Phil. Transactions Royal Society, v. 41, p. 143-162.)

NOTES RELATIVE TO SOME OF THE STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1770-1778.[1]

Alexander, Morgan	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770—£25/18/7.
Alexander, William	Mrs. Alexander his mother. Board charged from Feb. 2, 1775 to Mar. 25, 1776.
Armistead, Booth	Wm. Mallory, Elizabeth City, his guardian. Board charged Sept. 5, 1774 to Sept. 5, 1777.
Armistead, Bowles	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770—£58/19/7½.
Armistead, Westwood	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770—£7/18/8.
Armistead, William & John	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £21/4/7½.
Ashton, Henry	Mr. Jno. Watts, Caroline, Guardn. Board charged Feb. 14, 1775 to May 25, 1775.
Bankhead, John	His guardn. is D. Bankhead, Westmoreland. Board charged Jan. 18, 1775 to Mar. 25, 1776.
Baylor, Robt.	John Baylor Esq, his brother. Board charged Nov. 1, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773. There is also a charge of £1/5/3 for board after March 25, 1773.
Billup, Joseph	Board charged Feb. to Aug. 1777. "Went away last of August."
Bland, Richard	Son of Richard Bland, Junr. Esq. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £10/14/6. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to May 25, 1772.
Bolling, Edward & Arch'd.	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770—£15/19/3½.
Booker, Richard	Board charged Sept. 20, 1776 to Mar. 20, 1777

[1]These notes have been compiled from the bursar's books in the library of William and Mary College. See W. & M. Quarterly, 2nd ser., v. 1, No. 1, p. 27. A Student was charged £13 a year for board.

Boush, Wm & Samuel	Sons of Sam'l Boush, Esq. Norfolk. On Mar. 25, 1771, board charged to this date £9/16/6. Sam'l Boush decd. Apr. 25, 1771. Board charged for Wm from Mar. 25, 1771 to Oct. 14, 1775.
Braxton, Carter	July 22, 1777, dr. to balance £6/10
Braxton, Corbin	July 22, 1777, dr. to balance £6/10
Braxton, George	Son Carter Braxton, Esq. July 22, 1777 dr. to balance £6/10.
Briggs, John	Paid Feb. 4, 1777 advanced board to Aug. 4, 1777.
Brough, Robt.	Son to the late Robt. B., near Hampton. Charged for board to Dec. 9, 1770—£3/16/8.
Brown, William	Son of H. B. dec'd. Balance due Sept. 25, 1770—£9/0/11.
Burton, Robert	William Burton, Albemarle, his father. Board charged Apr. 25, 1772 to July 27, 1772, when chosen on the foundation. He was elected writing master May, 1773 and served until Mar. 25, 1775. "He now left college."
Burwell, Carter	Board charged Mar 25, 1770 to Sept. 25, 1774.
Burwell, Lewis & John	Balance due Mar. 26, 1775—£4/5. Balance due Sept. 25, 1770—£8/19/6.
Burwell, Nathan	Son of James Burwell, Esq. Board charged Sept. 13, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1775. The year Mar. 25, 1775 to Mar. 25, 1776 he did not board at college, though apparently present. Board charged July 22, 1776[?] to Jan. 21, 1777.
Burwell, Nathanl	Bought cap and gown Feb. 11, 1771. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770-Aug. 25, 1772. "He left college Aug. 25, 1772."
Byrd, George	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770, £12/16/16.

Byrd, John	Son of the Honble. Wm. Byrd. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770-Dec. 25, 1771. Charged for cap & gown, Feb. 1, 1771—£3/15/7
Cabbell, Sam'l Jerdone	Wm. Cabbell Esq, his father. Board charged from Mar. 10, 1773 to May 25, 1775.
Calvert, Jonathan	Son of Max Calvert, Esq. Norfolk. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £7/5/3. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to Mar. 25, 1774, and in addition after that date £3/19/7.
Calvert, Maxamin.	Son of Max Calvert Esq., Norfolk. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770 to Mar. 25, 1771. [Account not clear.]
Campbell, Archibd	Board charged Mar. 3, 1775 to Aug. 5, 1775.
Campbell, Colin	Board charged Aug. 12, 1776, to Feb. 12, 1777.
Carter, John Hill & George	Sons of Charles Carter, Esq., Corotoman. Board charged from July 25, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1777. This account is not clear. It cannot be determined what dates are for each one. Both were not present all this time. On Ap. 1, 1777 an entry appears for the payment of 3 yrs advanced board for Charles Carter's three sons, Charles, Edward and George from Jany 15 last.
Carter, Landon	Robt. Wormley Carter his father. Board charged from July 1, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773. A charge for £4/17/6 after that date.
Cary, Wilson	W. M. Cary, Esq. his father. Board charged Jan. 25, 1775 to Mar. 25, 1776.

Chowning, Josiah	On Sept. 25, 1770, he was charged with a balance of £20/9/5. [Was this for board?]
Christian, Michael	Mich'l Christian, Northampton, his father. Board charged from May 8, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773, and from that date to Mar. 25, 1776.
Clay, Thomas	Charles Clay, his father, Cumberland County. On Mar. 25, 1772, board charged £2/8/6. Board charged from Mar. 25, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773.
Clayton, John	Son of Jasper Clayton, Esq. Gloster. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £2/6/4. Board charged from March 25, 1771 to about Aug. 1, 1773.
Cocke, John	Son of Col. Richd Cocke, Surrey. Board charged on Mar. 25, 1771 £9/15/0. No inclusive dates.
Cole, William	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £11/1/7½.
Colston, William	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770, 0/10/0.
Cook, Mordecai Gregory	Gloucester. Board charged Mar. 10, 1777 to Sep. 10, 1777.
Copland, David	Col. Richd. Randolph his guardian. To profit and loss for board from Sept. 1766 to Dec. 1768, not brot forward from table book with other balances, Dec. 1773 £29/5/0.
Dade, Langhorne	Horatio Dade his father. Board charged Oct. 25, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773.
Diggs, Cole	Son of Colo. William Diggs, Denbigh. On March 25, 1771, charged for board to this date £7/7/6. Board charged March 25, 1771 to March 25, 1775.
Diggs, Dudley	Wm. Diggs Junr. Esq, his brother. On Mar. 25, 1772 charged for board £12/4/10. Board charged Mar. 25, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773, and in addition £2/3/4.

Dixon, Beverly	Cash, July 8, 1773, £0/17/4½. By balance from Table book B Sept. 25, 1770 £0/17/4½.
Dixon, John Jr.	Son of Professor Dixon. On Mar. 25, 1771, for board to this date, £11/19/8½. Charged further from Mar. 25, 1771—£5/8/4.
Dixon, Thomas	Son of Prof. Dixon. Board charged, Mar. 25, 1770 to Mar. 25, 1775.
Dixon, William	Son of Prof. Dixon. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770 to Mar. 25, 1773.
Doncastle, John	Son of John Doncastle, Maryld. Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £29/19.
Drew, Dolphin	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £11/2/11½.
Dudley, James	Son of Mr. William Dudley of Warwick. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £9/15/0. Board charged March 25, 1771 to April 10, 1772.
Egglestone, Joseph	J. Egglestone, Amelia, his father. Board charged April 22, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773. He paid board afterwards to the 7th May, 1773. He was elected a "student" 7th May 1773, and thereupon received a salary til Mar. 25, 1776.
Eustace, John	Lord Dunmore engaged to pay his board. Board charged June 1, 1772 to Sep. 21, 1775.
Evans, Thomas	Southy Sympson from Accomac prom'd to pay his bd. Board charged Apr. 19, 1773 to Feb. 3, 1775. Salary paid him as a "student" from Feb. 3, 1775 to Nov. 25, 1775.
Fincastle, Lord	He with his 2 brothers charged for board on Mar. 24, 1774, £1/12/6. The three charged for board from Mar. 25, 1774 to May 25, 1775.

Fitzhugh, Beverly	Son of Wm. Fitzhugh of Marmion. On March 25, 1771, charged with his two brothers for board to this date £6/16/10. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to Mar. 25, 1772.
Fitzhugh, Danl	Son of Wm. Fitzhugh of Marmion. On March 25, 1771, charged with his two brothers for board to this date £6/16/10. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771-Nov. 23, 1775.
Fitzhugh, Daniel & Theo.	Board charged for six months on Dec. 26, 1777 £6/10/0. Board charged for six months July [1778]? £13/0/0. Board charged on March 26, 1776 £4/6/2.
Fitzhugh, Theo.	Son of Wm. Fitzhugh of Marmion. On Mar. 25, 1771, charged with his two brothers for board to this date £6/16/10. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771-Nov. 23, 1775.
Fontaine, William	Board charged from July 8, to July 27, 1772.
Gibbons, John	Son of Thomas Gibbons, York. On Mar. 25, 1771 board charged to this date £2/11/4. Board charged from Mar. 25, 1771 to June 10, 1772.
Goodrich, John	Willm. Davis, Isle of Wight, guardian. On Mar. 25, 1772 charged for board 0/10/10. Board charged Mar. 25, 1772 to Sept. 10, 1772.
Gregory, Richard	Son of Mr. Roger Gregory of King William. On March 25, 1771, charged for board to this date £9/9/3. Board charged March 25, 1771 to March 25, 1774.
Grymes, Charles & Benj.	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £30/7/10½. To profit and loss for board, July 31, 1773 £149/6/0.

Hay, Charles	Board charged Mar. 25, 1774 £11/18/4. This account is incomplete, part of the page having been cut out.
Heath, James	Mr. Macorie[?] his guardian. On Mar. 25, 1772 charged for board £2/11/4. Board charged Mar. 25, 1772 to May 25, 1772.
Heath, Thomas	Son of John Heath, Northumb'd. On Mar. 25, 1774 charged £1/10/10. Board charged Mar. 25, 1774 to Mar. 25, 1775.
Hughs, Thomas	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £4/12/5.
Hughes, Thomas	Son of Mr. Gabriel Hughes, Gloster. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £2/0/5. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to June 25, 1772.
Innis, James	Colo. Edmd Pendleton to pay the Board. Board charged to this date, Mar. 25, 1771, £9/15/0. He was also charged for a month prior to March 25, 1722. He was assistant usher June 25, 1772 to June 25, 1773, and usher from that time to Dec. 26, 1774.
Jefferson, Randolph	Brother of Thos. Jefferson, Esq. Board charged from Oct. 14, 1771 to Sep. 10, 1772.
Jennings, William	Balance due, Sept. 25, 1770 £12/10/9.
Johnson, James	Balance due, including interest, Mar. 23, 1783, £130. Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £64/9/3¾.
Jones, Edward	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £38/2/2½.
Jones, Eman'l, Junr	Paid salary as "student" from Dec. 25, 1772 to June 2, 1774.
Jones, Strother	Son of Mr. Gabriel Jones of Augusta. On Mar. 25, 1771, charged board to date £9/14/2. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to Sept. 25, 1774.
Jones, Walter	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £18/18/0.

Kendal, George	Mr. John Stringer, guardian. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £1/1/8. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to Mar. 25, 1773.
King, Michael	Mr. Henry King his father, Hampton. Board charged Feb. 12, 1775 to Mar. 25, 1776.
Lamb, Thomas	Part of the record has been cut out. A salary was paid him £30 per year from Mar. 25, 1773 to Mar. 25, 1774.
Leigh, William	Son of Ferdinando Leigh, King Wm. Balance due Mar. 26, 1776, £7/19/10. Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £21/3/10.
Leland [ ]	Paid salary as "student" from Dec. 25, 1771 to Dec. 25, 1772.
Lewis, Fielding.	Board charged Nov. 2, 1776 to May 2, 1777.
Lewis, John	Son of Warner Lewis, Esq. Board charged on Mar. 25, 1774 was £4/12/4. Board charged from Mar. 25, 1774 to Mar. 25, 1776.
Lewis, Thomas	Board charged Nov. 2, 1776 to May 2, 1777.
Maddison, James	Son of the clerk of Augusta. Cap and gown bought Feb. 1, 1771. For board to Nov. 22, 1771 £4/15/4. Paid salary as "student" from Oct. 25, 1771 to March 25, 1773[?]. Salary as writing master paid from Mar. 25, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773. Salary as Prof. of Nat. Philosophy paid from June 25, 1773 to Mar. 6, 1777. [acct. does not extend further].
Maury, Walker	Bror. of Mat. & James Maury, Freder'g. On March 25, 1771 there is a charge for board to the 22nd of Nov. ulto. £2/8/8. Was paid a salary as a "student" from Christmas, 1772 to Sept. 26, 1775.
May, David	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £9/13/1.

Mayo, William & John	Jno. Mayo, Cumberland, their father. Board charged on Mar. 25, 1774—£3/6/6. Board charged from March 25, 1774 to Nov. 14, 1774.
Mercer, Francis	James Mercer, Esq. his brother. Board charged May 7, 1774 to March 26, 1775.
Michell, Robert & Thomas	Board charged Oct. 25, 1774 to Mar. 25, 1776. On Mar. 1, 1776 when a payment was made, the bursar's note is "for board of Robert" "Qu. If Thomas gone."
Monro, James	Jo. Jones, Esq. assumed. Board charged June 20, 1774 to Mar. 25, 1776.
Montfort, Henry	Son of Jos. Montfort Esq, N. Carolina. On March 25, 1771 board charged to this date, £5/13/5. Board charged from March 25, 1771 to Mar. 25, 1773.
Moore, Bernard & Austin	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770, £96/14/3½.
Murray, Hon. Alex.	Son of Lord Dunmore. See under Fincastle, Lord.
Murray, Hon. John	Son of Lord Dunmore, See under Fincastle, Lord.
Nelson, Hugh	Son of Honble, Wm. Nelson. Bought cap and gown Feb. 1, 1771. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770 to Mar. 25, 1771. Hugh N. left college March 25, 1771.
Nelson, Nathaniel	Son of Honble Will. Nelson. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770 to Mar. 25, 1774.
Nelson, Nath.	Received salary as "student" from Jan. 25, 1774 to Sept. 25, 1775.
Nelson, Robert	Son of Honble. Will. Nelson. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770 to Sept. 25, 1774.
Nelson, Thomas & John	Sons of the secretary. Board charged from Mar. 25, 1770 to Sept. 25, 1775. On Sept. 25, 1770 there was a balance against the two for £13/13/7.

Nelson, William	Son of Honble. Will. Nelson. Board charged April 8, 1771 to Mar. 25, 1775.
Nelson, Wm.	Son of the late president. Board charged Mar. 25, 1775 to Mar. 25, 1776
Nelson, William	Son of Thos. Nelson, Junr. Esq. Board charged Oct. 1, 1772 to Dec. 25, 1774
Nicholas, George	Son of the Treasurer. On Mar. 25, 1772 charged for bd. £10/2/3. Board charged Mar. 25, 1772 to Dec. 25, 1772.
Nicholson, Henry	Board charged from Jan. 27, 1777 to July 27, 1777.
Page, Carter	Son of the Honble John Page. Board charged July 10, 1771 to Mar. 25, 1776
Page, John	Son of the Hon. J. Page, Esq. Bought cap & gown Feb. 1, 1771. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770 to Mar. 25, 1771.
Page, Mann	Son of Hble. John Page of Rosewell. Board charged Oct. 4, 1777 to Ap. 4, 1778
Page, William	Son of the Honble John Page. Bought cap and gown Feb. 1, 1771. On March 25, 1771 charged with board to this date, £9/12/9.
Peyton, Thomas	Son of Sir John Peyton. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £11/19/8½. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771-Oct. 25, 1772
Ramsey, James	Board charged Mar. 9, 1777 to Sept. 9, 1777.
Randolph, Beverly	Board to be paid by Col. Arch'd Cary. Bought cap and gown Feb. 1, 1771. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged with board to this date—£9/14/3½. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to Mar. 25, 1772.
Randolph, Peyton	Son of Mrs. Randolph, Wilton. On Mar. 25, 1771, charged for board to this date £2/1/2. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to July 13, 1774

Randolph, Robt.	Arch'd Cary, Esq. his father's execr. Board charged Jan. 18, 1773 to Mar. 25, 1776
Read, Charles	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £36/18.
Read, John	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £18/16/10.
Read, Thomas	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £13/0/0.
Robinson's, Starkey estate	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £4/19/2.
Rootes, Philip	Son of Phil. Rootes, Esq., Gloster. On Mar. 25, 1771, charged for board to this date £2/8/1. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to Dec. 25, 1772
Saunders, John Hyde	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £11/19/3¾.
Sclater, William Selden	Daniel Dixon, York Co., his guardian. Board charged March 25, 1770 to May 25, 1772. There was also a balance due on Sept. 25, 1770 £10/6/0.
Scott, Francis	Son of Col. Thos. Scott, Prince Edward. On Mar. 25, 1771, charged board to this date £18/1/2.
Selden, William	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £23/10/2
Sheilds, Samuel	Son of Magistrate of York. Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £6/16/0.
Shield [ ]	Paid salary as a "student" from Dec. 25, 1771 to Aug. 29, 1774.
Skelton, Bathurst estate	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £23/7/3¾
Smelt, Dennis	Wm. Todd his father's execr. Board due on Mar. 25, 1774 £1/16/10. Board charged Mar. 25, 1774 to Mar. 25, 1776
Smelt, William	Mr. Wm. Todd, King & Queen, his guardian. On Mar. 25, 1772 charged for board £1/5/4. Board charged March 25, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773
Smith, Armistead	Son of Capt. Thos. Smith, Gloster. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770 to Mar. 25, 1777

Smith, Granville	Board charged on Mar. 25, 1774 £4/19/0. Board charged Mar. 25, 1774 to Feb. 3, 1775 when he became a "student." He was paid as a "student" Feb. 3, 1775 to Mar. 25, 1776
Smith, John & Edward	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £18/9/6.
Smith, Thomas & Armistead	On Mar. 25, 1776 they were charged with a balance of £15/1/3. On Mar. 26, 1777 they were charged for board for one year. "Qu. if Ths. has left college."
Smith, Thomas	Son of Capt. Thos. Smith, Gloster. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770 to Mar. 25, 1777. At end of account the bursar queries whether Thomas has left college.
Starke, Burwell	No board charged. Salary £30 per year paid him June 25, 1773 to Dec. 26, 1774.
Steptoe, William	Richard Lee Esq. his guardian. On Mar. 25, 1772 charged board £5/15/6. Board charged Mar. 25, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1776
Stevenson, William	Son of Mr. W. Stevenson, York. On March 25, 1771 charged for board to date £2/11/4. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to May 25, 1772.
Stewart, David	Son of the Rev'd Mr. Stewart, Stafford. Bought cap and gown Feb. 1, 1771. Board charged Mar. 25, 1770-Mar. 25, 1771. Beginning Dec. 26, 1771 he was credited quarterly by salary "as a student" to Sept. 25, 1773.
Stewart, John	Wm. Gib[?] Stuart his guardian. Board charged from Feb. 2, 1775 to Nov. 23, 1775, from Feb. 21, 1776 to Ap. 11, 1776. On Oct. 9, 1776 he owed for a half years board. On July 22, 1777 he was charged six months board from Jan. 22, 1777.

Stith, Griffin	Son of Mr. Griffin Stith of Northampton. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £2/1/2. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to May 30, 1772.
Storke, John	Travis Storke, Westmoreland his mother. On Mar. 25, 1774 charged £1/6/0. Board charged Mar. 25, 1774 to Mar. 25, 1777.
Tabb, Johnson	Capt. John Tabb, his father, Back River. Board charged Feb. 13, 1775 to Sep 25, 1777. He was present after this for the bursar has a note acknowledging payment of advanced board on Sept. 25, 1777.
Tarpley, Thomas	Messrs. Blair & Cocke, guardian. Board charged Sept 18, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1775
Tarpley, William	Messrs. Blair & Cocke, guardians. Board charged Aug. 18, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1775.
Tarry, Edward	Mr. Thomas Yuille, his guardian. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £10/5/10. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to Nov. 15, 1772
Taylor, John	Col. Edmund Pendleton to pay board. Mar. 25, 1771 to the table for board as per Journal £4/15/4. To balance £1/19/1.
Thompson, William	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £23/4/6.
Throckmorton, Robert	Son of Mr. John Throckmorton, Gloster. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £9/2/9½. On Mar. 25, 1772, charged £9/15/0.
Thruston, John	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £32/14/7½
Todd, Christopher	Board charged Mar. 25, 1770 to Mar. 25, 1771. Also part of year between Mar. 25, 1771 and Mar. 25, 1772. Account not clear. Indicates that he was present also in 1773, before Sept. 25.
Todd [ ]	Paid salary as "student" from Oct. 25, 1771 to Sept. 25, 1773.

Travis, Champion	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £8/0/10½
Travis, John	Son of Majr. Ed. Champion Travis. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £11/14/9. On Mar. 25, 1772, charged for board as per Journal, £1/13/3.
Tucker, St. George	Henry Tucker Esq., Bermuda, father. On Mar. 25, 1772, charged for board £2/3/4. Board charged Mar. 25, 1772 to Dec. 10, 1772.
Tucker, Travis	John Coles Esq. his guardian. Board charged July 1, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773. Also charged £1/10/4 for board after this date.
Waddell, John	Mrs. Garrett his grandmother. Board charged from Aug. 10, 1772 to Feb. 10, 1773.
Wallace, Rob.	Mr. James Wallace his father, Back River. Board charged Feb. 13, 1775 to Mar. 25, 1776
Waller [ ]	Board charged Benj. Waller for two of his sons, names not given Mar. 25, 1771, £19/10/1.
Watson, John	Son of Majr. Watson, Gloster. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged for board to this date £5/4/2. Board charged March 25, 1771 to June 1, 1775
Waugh, Abner	Balance due £29/7/5. March 25, 1772. Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £26/7/10.
White, John	The Rev. Mr. White, K. Wm. his father. Board charged from July 10, 1772 to Mar. 25, 1773. On Mar. 25, 1774 he was paid ½ year's salary as a "student," and from that time to Mar. 25, 1776.
Whiting, Henry	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £8/12/5.
Whiting, John	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £11/18/7.

Whiting, Mathew	Son of Mr. M. Whiting, Bull Run. On Mar. 25, 1772, charged for one half year's board.
Whiting, Peter	His father Thos. to pay. Board charged Mar. 10, 1777 to Sept. 10, 1777
Wilkinson, Mills	Son of Mr. Willis Wilkinson, Nans'md. On Mar. 25, 1771 charged board to this date £2/2/7. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to Mar. 25, 1772.
Wormley, James	Son of Ralph Wormley, Esq. On Mar. 25, 1771, charged for board to this date £4/13/11. Board charged Mar. 25, 1771 to Mar. 10, 1773.
Worthington, Ephraim	Board charged April 8, 1774, to June 13, 1775
Wright, David	Maj. Christ. Wright, Princess Ann, his father. On Mar. 25, 1772 charged for board £11/15/4. Board charged Mar. 25, 1772 to Apr. 12, 1772.
Yates, Bartholomew	Balance due Sept. 25, 1770 £22/10/3.
Yates, William	Was paid a salary as a "student" from Dec. 25, 1772 to June 22, 1773, at which time he probably became usher's asst. for the salary was doubled from that date to Mar. 25, 1776.

CHARLOTTE COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

Revolutionary Officers and Soldiers.

Contributed by W. S. Morton, Charlotte C. H., Va.

1777 The following made application for supplies, represented as "being very poor;—

1. Betty Jeane, the wife of David Jeane.
   A soldier in the continental service.
2. Mrs. Brafford, the wife of a soldier in the continental service.
3. Mrs. Lucass, the wife of a soldier in the continental service (Mrs. Elizabeth Lucas, wife of Humphries Lucass).
4. The petition of Robert Hanna, a poor soldier, in the service of this State.
5. The petition of Susannah Childress, the wife of Benjamin Childress a soldier in the continental service "from this County to the state of Georgia."
6. Mrs. Milam, the wife of a poor soldier from this County in the continental service.
7. Mrs. Malone, the wife of a poor soldier from this county in the continental service.

Administering the Oath.

1777
Aug. Ct. 1. "Paul Carrington and Wm. Morton are appointed to administer the said oath to said Morton's Company of militia, & to all persons described by the said act, within the bounds of the said company who are not of the militia, & that they grant certificates and make returns according to law."

2. Wm. Hubbard, Gent. appointed to administer oath to his own company.
3. Wm. Price, Gent. to his own company.
4. Capt. Josiah Morton's company, by James Venable, Gent.
5. Capt. Joseph Moore's company, by himself.
6. Capt. Goode's Company, by Edward Moseley Gent.
7. Capt. Joseph Friend's Company by Wm. Jameson, Gent.
8. Capt. Jones' Company, by James Speed, Gent.
9. Capt. Brewer's Company, by Thomas Carter, Gent.
10. Capt. Barksdale's Company, by Samuel White, Gent.
11. Capt. Harvey's Company by Robert Jennings, Gent.
12. Capt. Williams' Company by James Bouldin, Gentleman.

CHARLOTTE COUNTY—MILITIA OFFICERS.

1777

July Court— 1. Gustavus Hendricks, commissioned a Lieut. in Capt. Friend's Company.

Sept. Court 2. John Watkins, commissioned an ensign, in Capt. Josiah Morton's Company of Militia.

Sept. Ct. 3. Diggs Bumpass commissioned an ensign in Capt. Friend's Company.

Oct. Ct. 4. Thomas Collier, Gent., produced his commission as Lieut. in Capt. Williams' Company.

Oct. " 5. Samuel Clark, Gent. produced his commission as Captain.

" " 6. Samuel White, Gent., commissioned 1st lieutenant, in Capt. Black's Company.

" " 7. Thomas Epperson, Gent., commissioned 2d Lieut. in Capt. Clark's company.

" " 8. Reuben Johnson, Gent., commissioned an ensign, in Capt. Clark's company.

Nov. " 10. Joshua Morris, Gent. produced his commission as an ensign, in Capt. Barksdale's Co.

" " 11. Edmund Read, produced his commission as 1st lieutenant in Capt. Jones' Company.

Aug. ct. 12. Wm. Price, Gent. one of the captains of the militia of this county came into court & resigned his commission, whereupon the ct recommended Samuel Clark to that office &c.

Oct. ct. 13. Miner Wilks, an ensign in Capt. Jones' company, when recommended as 2d lieut, requested to be allowed to continue in the office of an ensign.

Aug. ct. 14. Wm. Cook, Gent. produced his commission as 2d lieut.

Sept. ct. 15. John Tankersly, a lieut, in Capt. Jones' Company of m., resigned.

Nov. ct. 16. Wm. Watson, Gent. took the oath as an ensign.

Nov. ct. 17. Ambrose Hundley, Gent. took the oath as an ensign (he was murdered a few days afterwards, & his place filled by Adam Finch.)

Dec. Ct. 18. Adam Finch, as ensign, in Capt. Goode's company (Recommended).

Nov. ct. 19. Little Joe Morton produced his commission & took the oath as 2d lieutenant in Capt. Wm. Morton's Company.

Nov. ct. 20. Langton Bacon commissioned 2d lieut. in Capt. Goode's company.

1768.

March Court "John Harvey, Gent., having produced a commission from the Hon. Francis Fauquier, Esqr., his Majesty, Lt. Governor & Commander in Chief of this his Majesty's colony & Dominion of Va., to be a Captain of a company of foot in this county, took the usual oath to his majesty's person & government, & repeated & subscribed the teste."

CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON, ONE OF THE FIRST TRUSTEES OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE. HIS HOME, "HEWICK ON THE RAPPAHANNOCK."

By MARY POLLARD CLARKE.

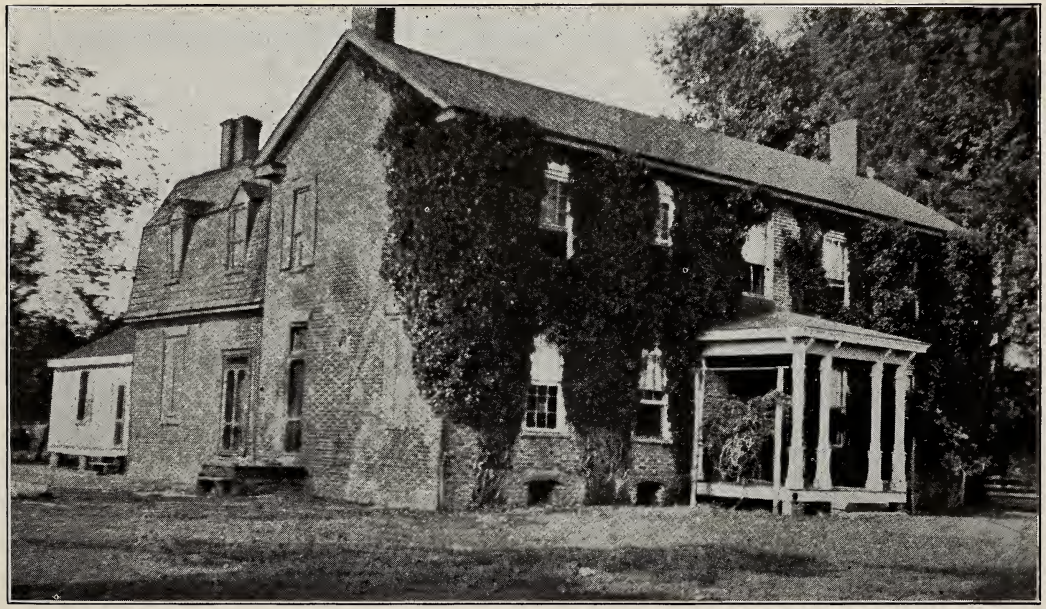
In these days of activity for the promotion of education in Virginia and for the enlargement and increased usefulness of William and Mary College, the oldest in the commonwealth, it may be of interest to inquire who were the pioneers in education, when the colony was young. Who were the first men who thought that the well-being and prosperity of the colony lay in the education of those who came to its shores?

When in 1660, the Colonial Assembly of Virginia ordered that "land be taken upon purchases for a college and free school, and that there be with as much speed as may be convenient, housing erected thereon for the entertainment of students and scholars," the founding of William and Mary College was begun. "They also directed that the Commissioners of the county courts take subscriptions for the benefit of the college, and to send orders to the vestrymen of all parishes to raise money from such inhabitants as had not subscribed to the college"

It is also written that "the Governor and Councilmen of State, and members of the House of Burgesses severally subscribed certain sums of money and quantities of tobacco, to be paid upon demand after a place had been provided and built for educational purposes." It was thus that the pioneers of education in Virginia planned to found a college in 1660. After some delay, due to the unrest which prevailed in the colony, William and Mary College was established in 1693.

It was in this year that Christopher Robinson's name appears as a trustee and a founder of the college. Not only this, but the interests and influence of this man, led him into every field of service to the colony. The facts concerning his career place him among the makers of Virginia's early political history.

He had received every advantage of education, wealth, and family connection, which made his coming to the colony an event



HEWICK (1678), MIDDLESEX COUNTY, HOME OF CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON

of import to affairs of state. We read that he was the elder brother of John Robinson Bishop of London and Plenipotentiary to the Council of Utrecht, and was born at Cleasby, Yorkshire, England in 1645. He came to this country about the year 1660, and settled in Middlesex County. The records of Old Christ Church near Urbanna give his name as vestry man in 1664.

In 1678, according to the record of the State Land Office, one Christopher Robinson acquired 300 acres of land in Middlesex County. It was on this land that he built his home, reared his family, and left a land mark second to none in historic and personal associations. This home is still standing, and the date of its building is imbedded in the corner bricks—though indistinct, one can read 16—. He named it "Hewick." This has been the cherished home place of the Robinsons and their children's children for many generations. Only in the last generation has it been owned and occupied by others. It was built of substantial brick, originally with Dutch roof as the rear part of the house indicates. The front steps were stone, with a colonial doorway and pediment. A modern porch has been ruthlessly added. The trees of this home, tradition says were wonderfully beautiful. A long row of Lombardy poplars, sixty on each side, lined the lane which led to the house. A weeping willow, now alive, but much scarred by age, was planted in the yard by Philip Grymes, who brought the twig from England.

There is so much of romance, politics and interesting personal events connected with this old homestead that one feels that its annals should be recorded for imperishable keeping.

It was here that Christopher Robinson served his state and church. It was here he married and reared a family of children who distinguished themselves in the history of the colony. It was here that his son John Robinson was born, who afterwards became President of the Council. This son married Katharine Beverley, sister of Beverley, the historian. It was here that his son Christopher II was born, who married a daughter of Christopher Wormeley. It was here that Christopher III was born, who married a daughter of Ralph Wormeley of Rosegill. It was here that Judith, daughter of Christopher II, was born, who mar-

ried Carter Braxton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence. It was here at Hewick that the Robinsons, Wormeleys, Beverleys, Braxtons gathered to talk of the colony whose history was being made by themselves.

Above all, its first master was a man of such renown that he received in succession every honor the colony could bestow. The records of Middlesex Court House name him as clerk of the county from 1675 to 1688. Honors of a higher order followed, as he was elected to the House of Burgesses in 1691, and in the same year appointed to the Council. As a further evidence of his efficiency and popularity, the King of England made him Secretary of State of Virginia in 1692.

We might continue this family history and romance by telling of John, a grandson of Christopher I, and son of John of the Council, who became Speaker of the House of Burgesses. His home was Pleasant Hill on the York River, in King and Queen, which county he represented for thirty years from 1736-1766. Campbell in his "History of Virginia," says of him, "Mr. Robinson, amiable, liberal and wealthy, had long been at the head of the aristocracy, and exerted an extraordinary influence on political affairs."

I can not close this sketch of Christopher Robinson and his home without telling of the "inner imperative" which prompted this sketch. In the first place, little has been written of this illustrious Virginian and less of the old home, "Hewick," one of the oldest landmarks in the state; and in the second place memories and associations of my early childhood are connected with this homestead. I lived near it, visited it, and heard the older folks talk concerning it. When a little girl, I remember the visits of William L. Wilson, a college mate of my father's who came a-wooing to "Hewick," for the hand of the lovely daughter of Dr. A. J. Huntington. It was here she summered in the home of her grandfather, Dr. Richard Allen Christian, owner by inheritance of the place. It was here that my father, Dr. John Pollard, united this happy couple in marriage for many years of congenial companionship. Mr. Wilson afterwards became postmaster-general under Grover Cleveland, and later until his death, president of Washington and Lee University.

A CLOUD-CAPPED LEGION.

By Clayton Torrence.

Alexander Spotswood of "Newpost" and "Nottingham," in Spotsylvania County (born 1751; died December 20, 1818), son of Colonel John and Mary (Dandridge) Spotswood, and grandson of the Honorable Alexander Spotswood, governor of Virginia, was indeed no less an energetic character than his father and his grandfather, and, like them too, it would seem he possessed also that quality to engage in undertakings that brought forth the unqualified disapproval of men who like themselves, were independent thinkers and speakers.

Alexander Spotswood (1751-1818) was withal a patriot and a good soldier as the following record shows:

On 13 February 1776, Alexander Spotswood was commissioned Major of the 2nd Virginia Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel, 7 May 1776, and Colonel 21 February 1777, resigning 9 October 1777. On December 1, 1784 Alexander Spotswood presented a petition to the General Assembly of Virginia praying to be allowed such bounty in lands as his services in the American Army during the late war entitled him. On 24 November 1794, he again petitioned the Assembly for bounty lands for his services in the Army stating "that at the end of the campaign in the year 1777 his domestic circumstances compelled him to retire from the Army after he had served quite three years."

On the 13 December 1794, a most interesting petition by Alexander Spotswood was presented to the Assembly and is epitomized in the Journal of the House of Delegates for the Session beginning 11 November 1794 (page 91) as follows:

"Mr King reported from the Committee of Propositions and Grievances that the committee had, according to order, had under their consideration the petition of Alexander Spotswood, to them referred, and had agreed upon a report, and come to a resolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterward delivered in at the clerks table, where the same were again read, and agreed

to by the House, as follows: It appears to your committee, that the said Alexander Spotswood, entered in the service as major of the Second Virginia Regiment, in the month of June 1775 that in the year 1776 he rose to the rank of full Colonel, and had the command of the said regiment, in which he continued until after the action of Germantown, and the close of the campaign of 1777, when he retired from the Army. That the said Alexander Spotswood was appointed a brigadier-general to a body of men directed to be raised by the state, but as the number was not completed, they did not go into service. That the said Alexander Spotswood held a command in the militia, by appointment of the then Governor Jefferson, during Leslie's invasion of this state . . . *Resolved that* it is the opinion of this committee, that the petition of the said Alexander Spotswood, praying that he may be allowed a bounty of ten thousand acres of Western lands, is reasonable. Ordered that Mr. King do carry the resolution to the Senate, and desire their concurrence."

Probably one of the most romantic incidents connected with organizing the military in Virginia during the Revolutionary period is that of the attempted formation of two legions for the defence of the state in 1781. The assembly enacted, at the session of March 1781 a law reciting that "at this critical juncture, when the enemy have made this state the object of their vengeance, it is necessary to provide a standing force, for the immediate defence thereof." Two legions were directed to be formed each consisting of six companies of infantry and one troop of cavalry, of one hundred men each, for service during the war; "but, not to take the field or to do duty except in such cases of actual or threatened invasion." Other details of organization and service were specified by the act.[1]

On March 20, following, Alexander Spotswood, was appointed Brigadier General to command these two legions.[2]

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[1] 10 Hening, p. 391.

[2] House Journal March 20, 1781. Resolved that Alexander Spotswood Esquire be appointed Brigadier General to command the two legions to be raised for the defence of the state.

General Spotswood immediately went about the organization of his "legions," and the matter of uniforming and equipping them seems, from the following letters to have occupied a prominent place in the General's thoughts.

Sept. 13, 1781.[1]

Brig: Genl: A. Spotswood to Col: Wm. Davies,—Sending Mr John Washington, Quarter Master 1st Legion with Return of the 3d Legion and requisition for Tents, Camp Kettles & Knapsacks. Col: Mead on his arirval at Richmond, would let his wants be known—As the Officers are to be furnished as the Continental Officers, begs the favor of his having a Marque tent made for him as soon as possible & four horsemen's tents for his Field Officers—In the mean time he will be contented with Soldiers tents made rather larger than the men's—Requests that Mr. Washington be informed where he is to get arms.

[Copy of a letter, Executive Papers, in the Virginia State Library.]

October 2d,1781.

Dear Sir

Your favr of the 22d of last month never came to my hands until the 27th—at a time, when it really was not in my power to answer it, being so exceeding week & low occasioned by a severe spell of sickness, which seized me shortly after my return home

The cloathing comeing from the north, as nearly as I can recollect are as follows—

	yards
Blue Cloth	840
White do	650
Green do	400
Red do	400..This is

[1]The abstract of this letter as given above is printed in Palmer Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. II, p. 441. A search has been made in the Executive Papers for the year 1781 in Virginia State Library for the "original" of this letter but without success.

all four quarter Cloth, and as I expect is of a pretty good quality woud chuse to wait for it, rather than Take up with Serge, which in general is of a bad quality—

I know of no person who understands the makeing of Marquees, however, it is a branch of Business easily obtained—I should not have called out the Legions so soon as I did, but for reasons which I will make known when I see you, the time is now put off until the 25th of this month—

In regard to swords, my only chance is a dependence on old Hunter, but that depends on his procuring workmen—from Hunter I shall get spurs [?] Bridle bitts & curry combs—from Simpson—Holsters, pads, portmantuas Halters & strapps—

I wish the Jackets to be made rather larger in the sleeve from the elbow downwards, and instead of a round Cuff to be a slashed one, with three buttons on each Cuff—The Blue and white cloth comeing on I believe will cloth what infantry we have raised with two Jackets each, the cavalry must have the green—shd I recruit in strength Faster than what I expect, shall see you next week

I am Sr with great regard

yr mt obt Svnt
A Spotswood

[Addressed:] Colo William Davies
War Office
Richmond

[Above the address and to the right is the following:]
Publick Service

[Endorsed:] Octr 2d 1781
From Genl Spotswood
respecting the cloathing for his Legions

20 Nov 1781 Pr Seldons.[1]

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[1]Executive Papers Sept. 11, 1781, Virginia State Library. Published in Palmer's Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, p. 415.

My dr Sr

I came off and forgot to send the uniform Jacket, my servant neglecting to put me in mind of it, and left it in charge of a negroe of Mr. Galts, to whom I have wrote and requested him to send it to you.

Should the waistcoat not be recovered, I wish to have them made to fit such a man as the one who wished to be employed as an artificer, I wish the whole to be Blue, or half Blue & half Green, or half white—if not convenient to face the Jackets, have them edged, if of Blue of white edged with red—if of green edged with white—each Jacket to have side pockets abt. midway the waistcoat. The Jackets Button as a waistcoat as high as the pit of the Stomach and then to Turn of with a narrow french Lappel.

I think you may provide for 500 men, do my dr. Sr. have me well equipt, and then I shall be able to attend to oeconomy.

I am with friendship & esteem Yrs. Sincerely

A Spotswood

The Jackets must be made long so as to cover the Waist Band Breeches

General Spotswood's diligence in organizing and equipping his "legions" doubtless met with a great deal of opposition a bit of which has come down to us in the scathing criticism of Charles Dick, of Fredericksburg, director of the Manufactory of Small Arms. In a letter sent from Fredericksburg (probably addressed to Colonel Davies, Commissioner of War) Mr. Dick says "I received an Order of the 21st Sept. to deliver all the Repaired Arms to Gen. Spotswood QrMaster, I am happy he has not call'd for one Musket yet, as a number of Men and Horses have been Screen'd from Military Services by that Cloud Capd Legion in the Time of our greatest Distress." Mr. Dick was a man given to strong convictions, usually formed after deliberate consideration of facts, and also he possessed the courage of them.

That the "Legions" came to naught is clearly stated by Spotswood himself in his petition to the legislature in 1794 for additional bounty, when he says that he "was appointed brigadier general to a body of men directed to be raised by this state but as the number was not completed, they did not go into service."

JOHN TENNENT AND HELEN BALFOUR.

Contributed by CLAYTON TORRENCE.

From Caroline County Order Book, 1822-24.

"A paper purporting to be a copy of a marriage contract entered into in the city of Edinburgh in Scotland, between John Tennent, eldest son of John Tennent of Port Royal in the State of Virginia, practitioner of physic, on the one part, & Helen Catherine Balfour, eldest daughter of the decd. Chas. Balfour formerly of the Parish of St. Catherine's & County of Middlesex in the Island of Jamaica afterwards residing at Cardrona in the County of Peebles in Scotland with the special consent of John Black, merchant in Edinburgh, one of the Curators nominate to the sd. Helen C. Balfour, Eleonare Balfour widow of Baille John Balfour merchant in Edinburgh, her grandmother and David Bryce Esq. late of Jamaica now residing in Edinburgh one of the Exors of sd. Charles Balfour on the other part. As taken from the records of the court of Session in Scotland was this day presented in court and the same appearing to be certified in due form by Thos. Peat writer to the signet is thereupon ordered to be recorded here. Nov. 10, 1823, Caroline Co. OBh. 1822-1824, 218

ESSEX COUNTY.

Contributed by CLAYTON TORRENCE.

At a Court held for Essex Co. Feb. 10 1704 [1704/5]

On the Motion of Capt. Robert Coleman, It is considered by the court that the Old Prison standing at Hobses Hole [Tappahannock] be appropriated to the use of a Schoole house, and to no other use whatsoever. (Essex County, Order Book 1703-08, p 147)

At a Court held for Essex, August 1705.

The Petition of Richard Cooke keeper of the School at Hobbs Hole to have liberty to live in the sd School house is Refrred to the consideration of the next Court. (Essex County, Order Book 1703-1708, p. 176)

MARY NICHOLSON.

From Dawson MSS. Library of Congress.

Mr. Dawson.[1] Whitehaven Aprill 6th, 1745.

As it is with sincere pleasure I hear of your success, your Reputation, the great Credit you Do your Religion & yr country so I flatter my self it will not be unagreeable to you to have some account of a family you have formerly favoured with yr friendship particularly by yr kind visit to Mr. Nicholson some years ago in Virginia; poor man? he continued very unfortunate in his seafaring capacity wch he left some time since & has a little Business in the Custom-House, which affords a Tranquil low Life such as we are Contented wth after the many storms & Tempests we have past, my Boys (thank God) three of them can earn their bread, the fourth yr namesake has lately entred at Oxford under Mr. Fothergills care, who I fancy is your Brothers Tutor who I hear writes very gratefully of the kindness you extend to him in giving him an Education so expensive; I hope you will live to see the happy Effect of your Bounty, that your Brother & my son will be as remarkable for their improvement as their relations are for their Generosity in supporting them. my dear Brother has taken Care of all mine but Clem who sticks to the sea these dangerous times; by him I design this paper & cou'd wish him the pleasure of seeing you but he has no hope that way. Your Sister Kendal & her family are well, your good Mother has had a hard part that was forced to take home the Widow Brumfield & three fatherless children But it was a great & an unavoidable Charity & I hear her Valuable Sons in America helps her to strugle thro' that every trouble.—long may you both live & enjoy the Luxery of doing much good & receive the reward of it when time shall be no more.

I am with the Compliments of this family
Sr Your Sincere Friend
& Humble Servant
Mary Nicholson

Our Good Mr. Brisco is Dead & left a very poor Widow & five small Children.

---

[1]Rev. Wm. Dawson, president of the college, and commissary of the Bishop of London.

FLEMING FAMILY.

The Fleming County, Ky., branch of Flemings, as I have it from Charles Fleming who was born in 1823, was descended from Col. or Capt. Wm. Fleming, who came to Kentucky from Virginia about 1770-80, located a tract of land and returned to Virginia and died there. His son, Col. John Fleming, came later to look after his father's land and became a citizen, lived and died there. He married a widow of Col. Donaldson (whose maiden name was Lucy Pettit) and they had William, Thomas and John and they were the progenitors of that branch, although the first Col. Wm. Fleming has not been authentically located.

The Vestry Book of St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, shows that Wm Fleming and Robt. Blackwell were admitted Vestrymen in 1718. In 1719 Wm Fleming was by order of the Court made Surveyor of the road from Toptopotomoy creek to Samuel Waddy's. In 1721 Wm Fleming and Wm Harris were made church wardens. In 1723, Capt Wm Fleming Church Warden. 1729, Capt. Wm. F. and Capt. Charles Hudson meet at Col. David Merriwethers. 1730, ordered that Samuel Hill and his tiths assist Capt Wm F. 1736 ordered that Capt Wm F. and Wm Meriwether sell the lower Glebe lands to Vinkle [?] Cobbs. In 1743 Capt Wm F. resigns as Vestryman. In January 1769 William Fleming and thirty-four others obtained patents to thirty five thousand acres of land, lower side of Salt lick Creek. Va. Mag. of Hist.

It is the tradition that Capt. Wm. F. located this land in Kentucky and was the father of Col. John F.

Wanted evidence of this fact.

J. D. FLEMING.

Marshall, Mo.

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ZHE HOL, NEAR MITCHELLS, VA., THE HOME OF MISS MARY WINSTON SLAUGHTER
Formerly Totterdownhill, the Home of Nicholas Taliaferro, Author of the Register

William and Mary College
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THE FAMILY REGISTER OF NICHOLAS TALIAFERRO WITH NOTES.

By William Buckner McGroarty.

"The following Family Register, &c., &c., of our grandfather, Nicholas Taliaferro, was transcribed literally from "OLD BUCHAN",[1] by Thomas A. Marshall[2] of Vicksburg, Miss., for his sister, Mrs. Mary A. P. Doniphan[3] of Augusta, Ky., on the 21st day of June, 1849; Viz;—

My Honored Grandfather, John Taliaferro,[4] was married to my honored grandmother, Mary Catlett,[5] the 22d day of December, 1708; my honored grandfather departed this life the 3d of May, 1744. My Uncle, Lawrence Taliaferro[6] was born the 8th of September, 1721; he married Susanna Power, youngest daugh-

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[1]"Old Buchan" was a family medical and recipe book on the blank pages of which Nicholas Taliaferro had transcribed his "Family Register." This book was carried to Vicksburg, Miss., from Kentucky by Judge Marshall and it was lost in the fire which destroyed "Openwoods," the Marshall family home, during the siege of that city in the Civil War.

[2]Judge Thomas A. Marshall was the son of Nicholas Taliaferro's daughter, Matilda Battaile, whose husband, Martin Marshall, was the son of the Rev. William Marshall and his wife, Mary Ann Pickett; he was a first cousin to the Chief Justice.

[3]Mary Ann Pickett Marshall married George Doniphan, b. King George Co., Va., July 4th, 1790, a direct descendant of Capt. Alexander Doniphan, b. 1650, who was a justice in Richmond Co. 1692-1704, commanded a troop of horse against the Indians 1704, Sheriff of Richmond Co. 1716. (See *Quarterly*, Vol. 3; Vol. 17; *Va. Mag. Hist.*, Vol. 1.)

[4]John Taliaferro of "Snow Creek" was the son of John Taliaferro (the first to bear the name of John in Va.) and the grandson of Robert Taliaferro the immigrant. The wife of the first John was

ter of Major Henry Power,[7] and had issue, Sarah Taliaferro, born 13th October, 1746, O. S., now the wife of Captain William Dangerfield. He died the first of May, 1748.

My Aunt, Martha Taliaferro, was born the 24th of June, 1724 and married Mr. William Hunter,[8] and had issue by him, James Hunter[9] born 6th November 1746, William Hunter born 24th August Anno 1748 O. S., Martha Hunter born 20th October 1749 O. S. Mr. William Hunter died the 25th of January 1754.

My honored father, William Taliaferro,[10] was born at "Snow Creek,"[11] Spotsylvania County, Rappahannock, Va., the 9th of August, 1726, and departed this life at "Newington,"[12] his seat on Mountain Run, Orange County, Virginia, after a painful illness without a groan the 21st of April 1798, aged seventy two in August, 1798.

My honored father William Taliaferro was married to my honored mother, Mary Battaile, the 4th October 1751 by the Reverend Musgrove Dawson.[13] She was born the 18th September 1731 and died the 9th of November 1757, the daughter of Captain Nicholas Battaile,[14] of "Hays," Caroline County, Rappahannock Virginia. My grandmother's maiden name was Thornton.[15]

Sarah Smith, daughter of Major Lawrence Smith; the wife of Robert was Sarah Grymes, daughter of the Rev. Charles Grymes of "Brandon," then of Gloucester, now of Middlesex Co. John of "Snow Creek" is the Major John who was requested "to bring up the Surplice," in 1730, to the newly established church at Germana; he was a man of note in the colony.

[5]Mary, daughter of Col. John Catlett, Jr., and Elizabeth Gaines, his wife. Their seat was a large estate at the mouth of Golden Vale Creek, in present Caroline Co. Col. John, Jr., b. 1658, was the son of Col. John Catlett, Sr., and his wife, Elizabeth Underwood, who had been previously married to the first Francis Slaughter.

[6]Lawrance Taliaferro (1721-1748), and his father, Col. John of Snow Creek (1687-1744), were buried at Old Hickory Neck Church, in James City County, near the present village of Toana; up to some thirty-five or forty years ago their tombs were well preserved. At the present time no trace of them remains, except that a few fragments of the stone of Lawrence T. have been discovered and have been embedded in the cement floor of the small entrance porch which

John Taliaferro, son of William and Mary Taliaferro, was born Tuesday morning, seven o'clock, the 31st July 1753 and was baptized by the Reverend Musgrove Dawson; his sureties were Colonel John Thornton,[16] Colonel Henry Fitzhugh's lady,[17] Mr. Charles Lewis and his lady,[18] the 24th August, 1753.

Lucy Mary Taliaferro[19] was born the 13th of December Anno 1755, Tuesday nine o'clock at night and was baptized by the Reverend Mungo Marshall;[20] her sureties were Mr. Reuben Thornton,[21] Mr. Henry Willis[22] for Mr. Henry Heath[23] Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas[24] and Miss Mary Waugh.[24]

Nicholas Taliaferro[25] was born the 30th October, A. M., 1757; his sureties were Colonel George Taylor,[26] Mr. Erasmus Taylor,[27] Mrs. Sarah Slaughter,[28] Miss Betty Slaughter[29] and Mrs Mildred James.[30]

My Honored father was married to Miss Elizabeth Taliaferro,[31] a second wife, on Tuesday the 5th of December 1758 by the Reverend Musgrove Dawson.[32] She was the daughter of Francis and Elizabeth Taliaferro, of "Epsom,"[33] Spotsylvania County, Rappahannock,[34] Virginia, and was born the 4th October 1741.

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has recently been added to the venerable little building. A description of these tombs can be found in Vol. 9, *Va. Hist. Col.* Bishop Meade has but little to say about Old Hickory Neck Church: "The building is the original one," he records, "now much out of repair and used indiscriminately by various sects." It was for many years used as a school room. No one knows when it was built, but it must have been some time prior to 1744: originally, no doubt, it was a Chapel of Ease for Bruton Church, Williamsburg, ten miles distant; and it is pleasant to be able to say that it has been restored to its ancient connection with that historic congregation and is once more serving the purpose for which it was originally intended. Among the historic churches of Colonial Virginia it is perhaps the smallest, being hardly more than 25x30 feet, yet its story, if it could be fully told, would reveal a mixture of religion, romance and tragedy pathetic in the extreme and perhaps unequalled. That it has been rescued and restored is due to the untiring efforts of the Rev. E. Ruffin Jones, rector of Bruton Parish Church.

[7]"I have seen a copy of a very old Power pedigree, by which it

Ann Hay Taliaferro[35] was born Wednesday the 27th February 1760 at three quarters after eleven o'clock at night and had private baptism by the Reverend James Marye, Jr.,[36] and died the 2d March, 1760 at seven o'clock A. M.

FAMILY REGISTER.

Nicholas Taliaferro was married to Ann Taliaferro on Saturday the 3d November 1781, eleven o'clock, by the Reverend James Stevenson.[37] My beloved wife, Ann Taliaferro, was the daughter of Colonel John[38] and Ann Taliaferro, of "Dissington," was born the 7th of April 1756 and departed this life the 3d February 1798.

Lucy Mary Taliaferro, daughter of Nicholas and Ann Taliaferro was born Tuesday morning, nine o'clock, 6th August, 1782 and was baptized by the Reverend William Douglas[39] the 18th January 1783; Her sureties were Mr. Winslow Parker,[40] Mrs. Lucy Mary Thurston,[41] Miss Ann Thurston,[41] my wife and self.

John Champe Taliaferro was born Tuesday morning 7 o'clock the 12th of October 1784 and was baptized by the Reverend

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would appear that Dr. Henry Power was of the family of Lord Power, of Remaine, Ireland." See *Quarterly*, Vol. 1, reprint, p. 144.

Major Henry Power of James City Co., who died Dec. 20, 1739, was a son of Dr. Henry Power of York Co., and Mary Foliott, his wife, of Hampton Parish. The name of Major Henry Power's wife is not known, but those of his children are given in the article from which quotation given above is taken; among them is "Susannah, Married Lawrence Taliaferro (d. 1748), son of Col. John Taliaferro of "Snow Creek," Spotsylvania Co., who left one daughter."

[8]The will of William Hunter, of Fredericksburg, dated Nov. 5, 1753, names Excrs., Cousin James Hunter, brother-in-law William Taliaferro, of Orange Co., Mr. Fielding Lewis, Mr. Charles Dick. To son James lots I now live on called Ferry Lots, with benefit of the ferry; land adjoining town known by my name; also a tract at Fall Hill commonly called Silvertown Hill; to son William 300 acres lying at the Robinson in Orange Co; 400 acres in Culpeper Co and house and plantation where Abram Simpson now lives. to daughter Martha one thousand pounds currency; testator desires boys to be educated at William and Mary.

James Stevenson the 27th of April 1786. His sureties were Mr. John Grinnan,[42] Mr. Joseph Stewart,[43] Miss Francis Willis Stewart[43] and his mother and departed this life 26th February 1811 after a painful illness.

Matilda Battaile Taliaferro was born Sunday morning eight o'clock the 30th September Anno 1787 and was baptized by the Reverend James Stevenson the 24th August 1788; her sureties were Mr. John and Miss Ann Grinnan,[44] and her mother.

Mary Willis[45] Taliaferro was born One o'clock the 11th August 1789 and was baptized by the Reverend James Stevenson the 15th November 1789. Her sureties were Mr. John Stevens,[46] Mr. Joseph Morton,[47] Miss Elizabeth Taliaferro,[48] Miss Ann Hay Taliaferro[48] and her mother. She departed this life the 25th January 1797 and was buried in Pennsylvania, where General Braddock was defeated,[49] Alleganey County.

George Catlett Taliaferro was born Wednesday evening, four o'clock, the 21st of March Anno 1792 and was baptized by the Reverend Mr. Woodville[50] the 23d December 1794; his sureties were Mr. John Grinnan, and wife,[51] Lucy[19] and myself.

William Thornton Taliaferro was born Friday, January 16th, 1795, at eleven PM. and was baptized by the Rev. Mr. O'Neal;[52]

On August 2d, 1758, William Taliaferro gave bond as guardian of the three children in the sum of twelve thousand pounds, with Edward Rice and Joseph Jones as security.

[9]James Hunter, the eldest son is the "Mr. Hunter" who owned the Iron Works at Falmouth, mentioned by James Mercer in his letter to Gov. Jefferson, April 14, 1781, which is reproduced in the *Quarterly*, Vol. 27, p. 92. He says these works supplied all the camp kettles used by the state troops during the Revolution, all the anchors for Virginia and Maryland and that "without the bar-iron made there, even the planters hereabouts and to the Southward of this place would not be able to make bread to eat."

[10]William Taliaferro was Lieut. Colonel of Orange Co. Militia; his Commission was dated May 5th 1756. (Order Book 1755 to 65.) (See Vol. 2, Va. Co. Records, p. 126—Crozier.) As "Col. William Taliaferro" he is mentioned as one of the sponsors (1758) of Catlett Madison, a brother of the President. He is sometimes confused with Col. William Taliaferro of the Revolution.

his sureties were his grandfather[53] who named him, Mr. Hay Taliaferro[54] and Hay Taliaferro Jr, his grandmother,[53] mother and Miss Abby Gibson.[55]

Nicholas Taliaferro was a second time married,[56], to Miss Frances Blasingame, daughter of Mr. James and Mary Blasingame,[57] and had issue:

Carr Blasingame Taliaferro who was born Tuesday 13th August 1799 half after two in the evening.

Lawrence Washington Taliaferro[58] was born Tuesday, nine o'clock, 28th October 1800.

Ann Patterson Taliaferro was born Friday night ten o'clock 29th October 1802, and departed this life Tuesday night about twelve o'clock, 25th November 1803; she was cutting teeth and was taken with the epilepsy fits; her two eye teeth came through the gums before she died.

James Hay Taliaferro was born the second day of September 1804; very warm sunshiny day.

Nicholas Taliaferro was born Thursday half after eight o'clock the 14th August 1806, in the morning.

Marshall Howe Taliaferro was born the ninth of March, 1809, eleven o'clock at night.

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[11]Snow Creek flows into the Rappahannock river a short distance below Fredericksburg. When John Taliaferro and Francis Thornton settled there, that section belonged to Essex Co. and they were near neighbors and brothers-in-law, the latter having married the former's sister, Mary. The act creating Spotsylvania Co. (1720), specified Snow Creek as its Southern boundary. This threw John Taliaferro into the new county and left Francis Thornton in the old. According to the Westover Papers, John Taliaferro settled at Snow Creek in 1707.

[12]"Newington" is located on Mountain Run, some twelve miles to the Southeast of the town of Orange, and was for more than seventy years, prior to 1910, owned by Mr. Lawrence Sanford, who purchased it from Elizabeth, the second wife and relict of William Taliaferro, and later the wife of Capt. Benjamin Hume; she died at "Newington," at the age of 90.

It is now the property of Mr. E. Clay Pannell; a part of the house remains as originally constructed, about 1753. The old burying ground lies about one hundred yards distant while the site of the first

Carr Blasingame Taliaferro departed this life Thursday morning half after nine, 1806.

James Hay Taliaferro departed this life Thursday night twelve o'clock, 18th August, 1808.

John Champe Taliaferro[59] died 26th February, ten minutes after two in the morning, 1811.

Frances Ann Taliaferro[60] was born Saturday, eleven o'clock P. M., Ninth November, 1811.

William Buckner[61] was born the 19th June, 1780, and was married to Lucy Mary Taliaferro 26th June, 1799, and had issue;

Philip Johnson Buckner,[62] born 8th August, 1800.

Ann Whitaker Taliaferro Buckner born 8th January 1803.

Nicholas Taliaferro Buckner, born 29th June, 1805.

My brother, John Taliaferro, married Ann Stockdell, daughter of Captain John[63] and Mary Stockdell of Orange County Virginia and had issue;

Mary Taliaferro, born 17th June 1773, married Robert Reynolds[64] and died with her first child which is called Thornton.

Elizabeth Hay Taliaferro was born 4th May 1778.

Lucy Mary Battaile Taliaferro was born 14th May 1780.

Court House erected in Orange (of which merely a trace can be located) is but another hundred yards removed. A feature of "Newington" is its striking hall and stairway.

[13]Bishop Meade, in speaking of St. Mary's Parish, Caroline Co., formerly Essex, says, "In 1754 one of the three John Brunskills was the minister; in 1758 the Rev. Musgrave Dawson was there"; it is apparent from this record that he was there also in 1751 and in 1753. He will be found later in St. Mark's Parish, in that part which became St. Thomas's, in Orange Co.

[14]Nicholas Battaile, b. 1701, son of Col. John Battaile, Sr. (d. 1708) and Elizabeth, daughter of Major Lawrence Smith, and sister of Sarah Smith, the wife of the first John Taliaferro.

[15]Mary Thornton (1731-1757), wife of Capt. Nicholas Battaile, was the daughter of the second Francis Thornton and Mary Taliaferro, his wife. He was the son of Francis Thornton and Alice Savage and grandson of William Thornton, the immigrant.

[16]Col. John Thornton, the infant's maternal great-uncle. His wife was Mildred Gregory, one of the three Gregory sisters, who married

William Taliaferro was born 23d March, 1782.
Sarah Taliaferro was born 20th February, 1784.
John Taliaferro was born 6th April 1786.
Martha Taliaferro was born 22d January 1789.
Nicholas Hay Battaile Taliaferro was born 15th June, 1793.
Lawrence Wesley Taliaferro was born 5th August 1796.

A REGISTER OF THE NAMES AND AGES OF MY NEGROES.

1 James, born in March 1756.
2 Rachel was born in November 1773.
3 Clemintina was born in February 1781.
4 Anthony born 12th March 1784, 9 o'clock in the morning.
5 Billy was born 9th December 1785, eleven o'clock at night.
6. Hannah, born 19th August 1786, four o'clock in the morning.
7 Sarah born 10th June 1773
8 Betty born 15th September 1788
9 Sally born 10th July 1788.
10 Phil, born 5th August 1789.

Thornton brothers. They were the daughters of Roger Gregory and Mildred Washington, aunt and Godmother to the President. After Roger Gregory's death she married Col. Henry Willis, of Fredericksburg, his third wife.

[17]Henry Fitzhugh[3] (Henry,[2] William[1]) married Sarah Battaile, Oct. 23d, 1746, in Caroline Co. Will dated Feb. 12th. Proved in King George June 5th, 1783. She was the daughter of Capt. Nicholas Battaile and the sister of Mary (Battaile) Taliaferro, the infant's mother. Henry and Sarah Fitzhugh lived in St. Paul's Parish, Stafford Co., now in King George Co. (*Va. Mag. Hist.*, VII; Va. Co. Rec'ds, Vol. 9) The line dividing Stafford and King George formerly ran east and west and was changed to north and south on Jan'y 1st, 1777. (Hen. 9-244.)

[18]"Col. Charles Lewis[4] (Major John,[3] John,[2] Robert[1]) married Lucy, daughter of Col. John Taliaferro of the Manor plantation, Snow Creek, Spotsylvania County, Va., about 1750" (Lewis Gen.). Charles was the brother of Col. Fielding Lewis, who married 1st Catherine, and 2d Betty Washington. Col. Charles Lewis' lady, the sponsor, was the infant's paternal aunt.

11 Daniel born the 12th January 1792
12 Jenny was born the 6th November 1794
13 Sharlotty was born the 10th February ———.
14 Ben was born the 25th October 1798
15 Nelly was born the 5th January 1801, in the morning.
16 Mary born 12th March 1803, half after eleven, apparently still born.
17 Lucy, born 11th August 1805, three o'clock in the afternoon.
18 Joe, born 9th November 1806, tweleve o'clock, Sunday.
19 Prissy, born Sunday night 11th December. 1808.
20 Caroline, born Tuesday morning 28th September 1809.
21 Simon, born Sunday morning 2d September, 1810.
22 Henry born 22d May, 1811.
23 Charles, born 1810.

I left "Totter-down-hill,"[65] my seat on Cedar Run, Culpeper County State of Virginia on the 11th of October 1796 and landed at the Lower Brooks at Limestone,[66] in the State of Kentucky on the fifth of February 1797[67] and bought a lease of Lewis Day on John Craig's land where I lived till the 15th March 1798 and then moved to Bracken County, my present seat, the Grampian Hill,[68]

Nicholas Taliaferro
15th March, 1811.

The sponsors for Augustine, one of the sons of Col. Fielding and Betty (Washington) Lewis, 1752, were "Charles Lewis and Charles Washington, uncles, godfathers; aunt Lucy Lewis and Mrs. Mary Taliaferro, godmothers"; the latter was the mother of Lucy Lewis and the widow of Col. John Taliaferro of Snow Creek (see Note 5). She died in 1771, over 80.

Col. John Thornton and his wife, Mildred (Gregory), were sponsors for the next child, Warner Lewis, 1755; and for Samuel, another son, the sponsors were Rev. Musgrove Dawson and wife (Notes 24 and 32), and Mr. Joseph Jones and wife, the latter another daughter of Mrs. Mary (Catlett) Taliaferro, the daughter, Mary, mentioned in the will of her father, 1744. For the son, Lawrence, 1767, one of the sponsors was Mr. Francis Thornton; another Francis Thornton was a fellow sponsor with Col. Charles Washington and Betty Lewis at the christening of her grandson, Samuel, in 1780.

This seat I bought of Mr. James Blasingame, three hundred and thirty seven and one half acres at twenty four dollars per acre, and paid the whole money.[69]

N. T.[70]

Most of the sponsors here mentioned were closely related to the parents of Nicholas Taliaferro by blood or marriage, or both. As has been noted elsewhere the wives of the three Thornton brothers were sisters, and first cousins of Betty Washington Lewis.

[19]Before the birth of Lucy Mary the family had removed from St. Mary's parish, Caroline, to what had been St. Mark's and was then, as now, St. Thomas' parish, Orange Co. She was married June 11th, 1773, to William Plummer Thurston, and 2d, on Apl. 5th, 1791, to Hay Taliaferro, of "Cheerful Hall" (Orange Co. Marriage Recds.).

[20]"Unhappily the records of St. Thomas' parish have been lost. The Rev. Mungo Marshall was minister in 1753. There was once a tombstone over his grave, but that too, was appropriated and was used to dress hides upon." (Slaughter's St. Mark's.) He married Lucy Marye. His death occurred in 1757 or 1758.

[21]Another brother of the infant's maternal grandmother; his wife was Elizabeth Gregory, widow of Henry Willis.

[22]This Henry Willis was the son of Col. Henry of Fredericksburg and Ann Alexander, his first wife. He married Elizabeth Gregory, who, after his death (without issue), married his fellow sponsor, Reuben Thornton. See *Quarterly*, Vol. 6.

[23]Henry Heath's name appears frequently in the Spotsylvania Co. records of his day; he witnessed the will of the elder Rev. James Marye, whose daughter, Susanna, b. 17th June, 1735, was his wife; he was therefore the brother-in-law of the Rev. Mungo Marshall and of the Rev. James Marye, Jr. In 1758 Charles Dick executed a deed to Henry Heath, in which he is mentioned as "A Doctor of Physick," which was witnessed by Lawrence Taliaferro.

[24]Miss Mary Waugh was the daughter of Alexander Waugh, Sr., whose will was proved in Orange Co. in 1793. Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas was her sister, the wife of Joseph Thomas. An account of the family can be found in the *Quarterly*, Vol. 15. The founder of the family was the Rev. John Waugh, one of the picturesque characters of early Stafford. The name of the wife of Alexander Waugh is not disclosed, but the fact that her daughters were selected as sponsors seems to point to a family connection with the Taliaferros or Battailes.

[25]Nicholas Taliaferro neglects himself sadly in his recital. Fortunately the omission is easily supplied. Heitman in his Register of Revolutionary officers, says:

"Taliaferro, Nicholas, (Va.), Sergeant, 10th Va 25th Nov. 1776: Ensign, 5th Aug. 1777; 2d Lieutenant, 15th Nov. 1777: Reg't designated 6th Va, 14th Sept 1778; taken prisoner at Charleston, 12th May 1780: transferred to 3d Va, 12th Feb. 1781; 1st Lieut, 18th Feb, 1781; retired 1st Jan. 1783; Died 1812."

Nicholas Taliaferro died in January, 1812, and his will was probated in Bracken Co., Ky., court in March same year. It was witnessed by John King, Anderson Keith and James Boyd.

The Va. Land Bounty Records show that Warrant #854 was issued to Nicholas Taliaferro for 2666 2/3 acres, on June 17 1783; there is nothing to indicate that he ever took up the land. He was an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati, in which he never had a successor.

He was present at Yorktown at the surrender of Cornwallis, the terms of which were arranged in the Moore House, which is still standing, which had belonged to his great-great-grandfather, Major Lawrence Smith, and which was then owned and occupied by Lucy, the great-granddaughter of Major Lawrence Smith and the wife of Col. Augustine Moore. This estate is now known as Temple Farm.

Nicholas Taliaferro was born at Newington.

[26]Col. George Taylor (James,[2] James[1]), b. 1711, was the great uncle of the President. He married for his second wife, Sarah Taliaferro, the widow of Francis Conway 2d. Hayden, quoting from *The Richmond Critic*, Vol. 3, says she was the daughter of John and Sarah (Smith) Taliaferro and granddaughter of Charles and Mary (Carter) Taliaferro; as John and Charles were brothers and sons of the immigrant, Robert T., this is manifestly an error. She was the granddaughter of Charles, by an only son who pre-deceased his father and who was also named Charles. The will of the elder Charles (1734) devises his estate to three granddaughters, Mary, Sarah and Catherine Taliaferro, with reversion to daughter-in-law, Sarah Taliaferro. Hayden quotes the will in full; in 1749 Thomas and Mary (Taliaferro) Turner and Francis and Sarah (Taliaferro) Conway convey the same property by deed. Sarah T. and Francis Conway were married in 1744. The 2d wife of Col. George Taylor was therefore a cousin, though not a first cousin, of the infant's father, William Taliaferro. She was born 1727 and died 1784.

In passing it is interesting to note that one of the Excrs to the elder Charles Taliaferro's will was Francis Thornton, whose wife was Mary, the sister of John Taliaferro of Snow Creek and a niece of the decedent; one of the witnesses to the will was Thomas Slaughter, whose wife was Sarah, Francis Thornton's daughter. The grouping of these people in this connection may give a hint as to the identity

of Sarah Taliaferro, the daughter-in-law. She was probably a Slaughter.

"Bishop Meade says that Col. George Taylor had fourteen sons of whom seven served in the Rev. Army and that thirteen held office under the Government at one time. Mr. Stanard says that Col. Geo. Taylor was Burgess from Orange Co. 1748-58, Member Orange Co. Committee, 1774, and of the Va. Convention, 1775." (Hayden, p. 673.)

[27]Erasmus Taylor was the brother of Col. George. He married Jane Moore. Their daughter, Milly, married Wm. Morton. Jane Moore was the daughter of John and Rebecca (Catlett) Moore, who was the widow of the first Francis Conway and whose daughter, Nelly Conway, half-sister to Jane Moore, married Col. James Madison. They were the parents of the President. Col. Frank Taylor, in his diary, quoted by Dr. Slaughter, records, "July 19, 1794, died, Erasmus Taylor, eighty three years old."

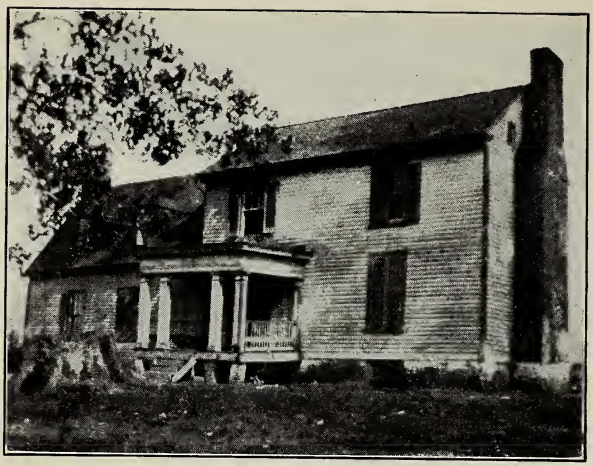
[28]She was Sarah Thornton, the infant's great aunt, and sister of Col. John, Reuben and Francis Thornton 3d. Her husband was Thomas Slaughter, the witness to the will of Charles Taliaferro, of which her father, Francis Thornton 2d, was an Exec'r. Thomas Slaughter[4] (Robt.,[3] Francis,[2] Francis[1]) was the great-grandson of the first Francis Slaughter and Elizabeth Underwood, who married, 2d, the first Col. John Catlett. He was a vestryman in St. Mark's.

[29]Not able to identify; presumably a daughter of Thomas and Sarah.

[30]The earliest record of the James Family seems to be that quoted in the *Quarterly*, Vol. 5, p. 276: "John James and his wife, Justina (Thruston) came to Virginia (James City Co.) 1713"; but the genealogical chain is incomplete. Bishop Meade (p. 259) mentions John James and Ann Strother, his wife, of Stafford, their son, Hon. Benj. James and the latter's daughter, Susan Washington James, who was born in Stafford in 1804.

Among the descendants of the three Gregory sisters who married Thorntons, a number of girls were named Mildred after their mother, Mildred Washington. All of these were related to the Taliaferros and Battailes, and the writer has a feeling that Mrs. Mildred James was one of these, but, which one?

[31]Nicholas Taliaferro's mother died at his birth; the only mother he ever knew was Elizabeth, whom family tradition credits with being a mother indeed. Her father, Francis Taliaferro, was the son of Lawrence and Sarah (Thornton) Taliaferro, the daughter of Col. Francis Thornton first and Alice Savage. Lawrence Taliaferro and his brother John had patented large tracts of land in the neigh-



NEWINGTON
The Older Portion Built Before 1750

HICKORY NECK CHURCH
Near Toano, Va., Before Restoration

borhood of Orange C. H., which descended to the children of Francis. Elizabeth inherited a tract of 1000 acres adjoining "Newington" and was therefore the near neighbor of her distant cousin, William Taliaferro, whom she later married. Her mother was Elizabeth Hay.

Among the many broad acres originally belonging to Lawrence Taliaferro there is but one tract, as far as the writer knows, which has descended in an unbroken line and still stands in the family name. This is "Mt. Sharon," the beautiful estate of Mr. Charles Champe Taliaferro, six miles from Orange C. H. The original patent, bearing date of 1728, hangs there on the library wall.

[32]Bishop Meade gives the name as *Musgrave;* while Dr. Slaughter spells it as does Nicholas T.—*Musgrove*; the latter form is correct. In the Orange Co. marriage records we find, "November 24th, 1757, Rev. Musgrove Dawson and Mary Waugh." She was the sponsor previously mentioned.

[33]This estate still known as "Epsom," lies four miles below Fredericksburg, one mile above Massaponax Run. Its present owner is Mr. J. A. Jones. All the improvements on the place were destroyed during the Civil War. It was an extensive plantation in the early days, and still is one of note.

[34]"Old Rappahannock," to distinguish it from the present county of that name, was formed from Lancaster in 1656, extended on both sides of the river, and was in reality without definite bounds. It was in itself a realm and as such impressed itself on the minds of the colonists, especially those who went in later years to "Kentucky County." Old Rappahannock became extinct in 1692, when it was divided into Essex and Richmond. (Hen. 3, p. 104.) (Bulletin Va. State Library, Vol. 9, p. 86.)

[35]This infant whose life was so brief was the only issue of Col. Wm. and Elizabeth Taliaferro; there was no issue of her second marriage with Capt. Benj. Hume.

[36]Bishop Meade (Vol. 2, p. 69), speaking of St. George's parish, Spotsylvania Co., says, "In the year 1767 Mr. Marye died and was succeeded by his son, James Marye, Jr., who was born in Goochland in 1731, was educated at William and Mary and had been minister in Orange Co." Later (p. 89), speaking of St. Thomas parish (formerly a part of St. Marks), Orange Co., he says, "His first recorded official act to which we are able to refer was his preaching the funeral sermon of the paternal grandmother of President Madison, who died Oct. 25th 1761 and whose funeral was preached the 30th of December following by the Rev. James Marye, Jr."

Rev. James Marye, Sr., was a French Huguenot, who came to America with his wife in 1729 and settled at the Huguenot center,

Manikin Town, where James Jr., was born. His first child, Susanna, already mentioned, was born on the voyage across. (She m. 1st, Rev. Mungo Marshall, 2d, James Marsden, M. D.) James, Jr., was born 1731. He died in his father's old parish, St. George's, Spots. Co., in 1780. He m. 1st, Letitia Courtney, 2d, Elizabeth (Osborne) Grayson. (*Huguenot Emigration to Va.;* Brock; *Va. Hist. Col.*)

[37]"1780, in the ensuing April the vestry met at the glebe and agreed to accept the Rev. James Stevenson as minister of the parish." (Slaughter.) He was a man of fine attainments and Dr. Slaughter refers to him many times. He married Miss Littlepage, the sister of Lewis Littlepage whose remarkable letter is published by Slaughter. Their son, Andrew Stevenson, was Speaker of Congress and Minister to England, and *his* son, John White Stevenson, was Governor of Kentucky and U. S. Senator. Bishop Meade gives the name Stephenson.

[38]Col. John Taliaferro, Sr., of "Dissington," King George, was the son of Lawrence T. and Sarah Thornton. He married Ann Champe, the daughter of Col. John Champe, Sr., of Lamb's Creek, King George, one of the wealthiest and foremost men of the colony. (Hen. 6 and 7.) Col. Champe had six daughters, all noted beauties. Elizabeth married Judge Fleming. Jane married Col. Sam'l Washington; Mary married Col. Lewis Willis; Lucy married Austin Brockenbrough; Ann married Col. John Taliaferro of "Dissington," and Sarah married Col. Edward Carter of "Bleinheim," Albemarle County.

"Oct. 31st, 1781; St. Thomas parish; Nicholas Taliaferro and Ann Taliaferro. Witness, Francis Taylor; Bondsman, Francis Taliaferro; Permission Ann Taliaferro." (Orange Co. M. Records.)

The witness mentioned was Col. Frank Taylor, the Diarist. The bondsman was the bride's brother and permission was given by her mother.

[39]See Meade, Vol. 1, p. 458, for a detailed account of the Reverend William Douglas. "He came to Virginia in 1748 or 9 as a teacher in the family of Col. Monroe of Westmoreland; President Monroe was one of his pupils; so also, at a later date, was Jefferson; his only child, Margaret, always called Peggy, married Nicholas Merriwether, and they were the ancestors of many of that name in Virginia." He had the remarkable record of having solemnized 1,388 marriages and 4,069 baptisms, says Meade.

Nicholas Merriwether was the son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Thornton) Merriwether and grandson of Francis and Mary (Taliaferro) Thornton.

[40]Winslow Parker was a Spotsylvania Co. man who had found a wife in Orange Co. In the marriage records of that Co. we find

"Aug. 4th, 1774, St. Thomas parish, Winslow Parker and Mary Thomas, Spinster; by license."

[41]See Note 19. In December, 1788, Wm. P. and Lucy M. Thurston execute a deed conveying land in Spots. Co., which is witnessed by Winslow Parker. Miss Ann Thurston is presumed to be sister to Wm. P.

[42]"Daniel Grinnan, Sr., of Accomac Co., Va., 1739, removed to Culpeper and settled on Cedar Run, near Mitchells station. He served in the Rev. War under Gen. Edward Stevens, in a Virginia Brigade; his eldest son, John, was in the Quartermaster's Department of the same Brigade." (Slaughter.) This John Grinnan was the uncle of the late Dr. Andrew Glassel Grinnan, whose beautiful home, "Brampton," lies in Madison Co., about five miles from Orange C. H.

[43]There is on record in Orange Co. (Deed Book 13), Aug. 22d, 1759, a deed from Jonothan Gibson and Susanna, his wife, to Joseph Steward of Spots. Co., for 1,000 acres in Orange, formerly Spots., with houses, Orchards, &c., adjoining Col. Spotswood and close by Col. William Taliaferro, at "Newington." He was a witness, 1755, to the will of John Spotswood, in Spots. Co., of which Col. John Champe was one of the Excrs., and in which a business transaction of large import with Col. John Thornton is recited.

In this will, in which he identifies himself as of St. George's parish, Spots. Co., he mentions daughter Frances, sons William, Joseph, and John; also mentions wife, no name. Will dated Feb. 2, 1778, and proved in Culpeper in 1785. The two children, Frances and Joseph were the sponsors.

The will of Joseph, Jr. (the sponsor), also on record in Culpeper, disposes of a very large estate; he leaves everything to his wife, Sarah, including "All the Slaves that came by her"; at her death estate to be divided among nephews and nieces and friends. His wife was Sarah Roberts, to whom he was m. June 7th, 1796 by the Rev. Isham Patterson. (Or. Co. M. Rec.)

[44]Miss Ann Grinnan is supposed to have been the sister of John.

[45]This name, Mary Willis, came from Mary Champe, the daughter of Col. John, and sister of Ann Champe. She was the first wife of Col. Lewis Willis, and was the infant's maternal great aunt.

[46]The will of Gen. Edward Stevens, Culpeper's Revolutionary hero, proved in Culpeper, Aug. 24th, 1820, leaves all his property after providing for his wife, Gilly, and daughter-in-law, Polly, to his sister's children and the children of friends. John (sponsor), his only son, had pre-deceased him, his will being proved Feb. 21, 1820. John's will is brief—"everything to wife, Mary"; Gen. Stevens' wife was Gilly Coleman; John's wife was Mary Williams. (Slaughter.) Col.

Frank Taylor makes note of this marriage in his diary, "Dec. 8, 1789; John Stevens married to Polly Williams of Culpeper."

"Gen. Stevens . . . was soon made Colonel of the 10th Va., with which he joined Washington; and at the battle of Brandywine (Sept. 11th, 1777) by his gallant exertions saved a part of the army from capture and covered the retreat." (Slaughter.) Nicholas Taliaferro, then twenty years of age, was an Ensign in this regiment and participated in this campaign. The two families were close neighbors; friends in peace and companions in war.

[47]Marriage bonds of Pittsylvania Co.; "Joseph Morton and Claracy Harrison, May 6th, 1788." His estate, in Orange Co., was appraised in 1816. (Will Book 5.)

[48]They were the daughters of Col. Lawrence Taliaferro of "Rose Hill," Orange Co. Ann Hay T. m. Lawrence Battaile Jany. 31, 1790; and Elizabeth married Battaile Fitzhugh, of "Santee," Caroline Co.

[49]The family was then en route to a new home in Kentucky, and on the date of the funeral had been on the way three and one-half months.

[50]Rev. Mr. Woodville was born in the North of England. He married Sarah, daughter of the Rev. James Stevenson, already mentioned. "He was a link between the two centuries, overlapping several generations. Patriarchs who were once his pupils still linger on the horizon." He died a very old man. Dr. Slaughter and Bishop Meade have much to say about him.

[51]Dr. Slaughter says John Grinnan married "Stuart." It is the belief of the writer that she was Miss Frances Willis Stewart, a fellow sponsor on a previous occasion tho' no record has been found to prove it.

[52]"Mr. O'Neill was the Minister from 1790 to about 1800. . . . He was an athletic Irishman who believed in what Hudibras calls 'Apostolic blows and knocks' more than in the Apostolic succession; . . . He never spoiled the child by sparing the rod; he taught school near Pine Stake Church in the family of Col. Taliaferro." (Slaughter.)

[53]These were William Taliaferro of "Newington" and his wife, Elizabeth; she was the infant's step-grandmother.

[54]There were several Hay Taliaferros in the immediate neighborhood. Hay of "Piedmont," called "Blenheim Hay," to distinguish him from Hay of "Cheerful Hall," whose brother, Francis Whitaker T., had married Jane Taliaferro of "Blenheim," the sister of the first mentioned Hay. Elizabeth, the step-mother of Nicholas T., was the sister of Hay of "Cheerful Hall," of Francis Whitaker (who inherited "Epsom") and of Col. Lawrence Taliaferro of "Rose

Hill." Hay Taliaferro, Jr. (1757-1834) was the son of the latter and is the one mentioned in Col. Taylor's diary—"March 16th, 1797; Hay Taliaferro married Sukey Conway and my son and daughter went to the wedding; the horses ran away and they did not get back." Hay Taliaferro of "Cheerful Hall" was the 2d husband of Nicholas T.'s sister, Lucy Mary T. Thurston.

[55]There were several families of this name in Orange and Culpeper, and they are mentioned often in Col. Taylor's diary. The estate of Abraham Gibson was appraised in Culpeper July 1, 1780; the first item recorded is "32 books"; another, "A gun and an old sword"; the Appraisers were Dan'l Grinnan, James Thomas, and Greensby Waggoner; May 20th, 1782, the Court ordered a division among the heirs, who were the widow and two daughters, Abbia and Ann (Culpeper Wills). In the marriage records, same Co., we find,

"June 5th, 1797, Taliaferro Hubbard and Abby Gibson; Rev. N. Sanders."

"March 7th, 1797, Joseph Bowen and Nannie Gibson; Rev. N. Sanders."

[56]The family was now in Kentucky; the death of the first wife has already been recorded.

[57]No information seems to be available as to the origin of the Blasingame family. I think they were from South Carolina.

[58]It is somewhat remarkable that Nicholas Taliaferro had not earlier introduced the name of Washington among his children, for his kinship with that family was close. His three great-uncles, Thornton brothers, had married the three Gregory sisters who were Washington's first cousins, and their children, who, in turn, had married Washingtons, were his mother's own cousins; these were Mildred (of Francis) who m. Charles Washington, Mildred (of Col. John) who m. Col. Sam'l Washington, and John (of Francis) who m. Jane Washington—the President's two brothers and niece. In addition, Elizabeth Thornton (of Col. John) had m. Col. John Taliaferro, of "Dissington," the brother of Ann, his wife, whose maternal aunt, Jane Champe, had been the first wife of Col. Sam'l Washington and whose maternal uncle, Wm. Champe, had m. Mary Thornton (of Francis), the sister of Mildred and John who had married Charles and Jane W., and own cousin of Mildred (of Col. John), the 2d wife of Col. Sam'l W. A blood relationship so often repeated and so involved, could not well be forgotten.

Another link connecting the two families (Note 18) was the marriage of Lucy Taliaferro, the aunt of Nicholas, with Col. Charles Lewis, brother to Fielding Lewis, who had married into the Washington family twice.

[59]Aged twenty-seven; he married Susan Buckner.

[60]This was the last of Nicholas Taliaferro's children. It will be noted that there were no "Sureties" for the second set. They were no longer living in Virginia with its stately customs and traditions and wide circle of kinsfolk. They were indeed living in another world.

[61]William Buckner was the brother of Susan. They were the children of Captain Philip and Tabitha Ann (Daniel) Buckner, of Port Royal, Caroline Co., Va., who with their large family and forty servants had preceded the Taliaferros to Kentucky by several years. Capt. Philip Buckner (John,[3] Richard[2], John[1]) was born in 1747, died 1820. He founded, in 1797, the town of Augusta, Bracken Co., Ky., on the Ohio river, about forty miles above the city of Cincinnati. Nicholas T.'s home was near this village. For full account of the descendants of John Champe and Lucy Mary Taliaferro see "The Buckner Family of Virginia." (Crozier.)

[62]Nicholas T. records the birth of a son, Wm. T., in 1795. This was the celebrated Dr. William Thornton Taliaferro, of Cincinnati, Ohio (dsp.): his nephew, Dr. Philip Johnson Buckner, but five years his junior, practiced with him and became equally famous as a physician and surgeon, and the same is true of another of his nephews, Dr. Nicholas Taliaferro Marshall.

Dr. William Thornton Taliaferro, a boy of 17, volunteered in the war of 1812, in Bracken Co., Ky. He was present at the defense of Fort Stephenson, under Col. Crogan, on Aug. 2d, 1813, and, quoting from a letter written by himself in 1858, "The memorable Battle of Lake Erie was a most brilliant achievement. Shortly after Col. Crogan's victory, where I was; on the morning after the British made good their retreat, I volunteered at Camp Seneca, and was led by Gen. Wm. Henry Harrison to Perry's fleet." During the years 1860-68 the State of Kentucky awarded handsome gold medals to six venerable survivors of the Battle of Lake Erie—Dr. Taliaferro being the first so honored.

[63]Orange Co. marriage records—"May 12th, 1772, John Taliaferro to Ann Stockdell."

The John Stockdell who was a member of the Commander-in-Chief's Guard, to which he had been transferred from the Va. Line, it is believed was a son of the Captain John mentioned, and a brother to Ann. (Godfrey, The Com'r-in-Chfs. Guard, p. 253.)

[64]"April 16th, 1790, married Robert Reynolds and Mary Taliaferro." (Orange Co. Mar. Records.)

[65]In Culpeper there is a deed, 1782, from Peter Gatewood and Sarah, his wife, to Nicholas Taliaferro, 188 acres, consideration £400; this tract was bounded on two sides by Foushee and on the others by

Dan'l Grinnan and Spotswood. (Book L-182.) This was unimproved land and on it Nicholas Taliaferro, in the same year, built "Totterdown-hill," which he sold to Peter Hansborough, Jr., of Prince William Co., for £675 "Current money of Virginia": the witnesses to this deed were French Strother, Charles Carter and D. Jameson; they also witnessed Ann's acknowledgment; both instruments were dated May 10, 1796.

Hansborough soon after sold to Isaac Winston and he to William Winston, his son. Isaac Winston changed the name of the place to "Zhe Hol," by which name it has been known for more than a hundred years, so that its former name has been forgotten in the neighborhood. It is now owned and occupied by the Misses Slaughter (great-granddaughters of William Winston), to whom the writer makes acknowledgment for the cordial welcome extended him on the several visits which he has made to their cherished ancestral home. The house is located about two miles from Mitchell's station, on a sharp incline some two hundred yards above Cedar Run. It is of frame, two stories in the central part, with story-and-a-half dormer-windowed wings on either side, shaded by low roofed porches. There are huge stone chimneys on either end and one still larger in the central portion. At some distance from the main building is the stone kitchen in whose wide and time-scarred fireplace still hangs the ancient crane.

[66]"Limestone" is now Maysville. It was here that so many Virginians forsook their flat-boats and scattered over the Promised Land. Limestone was the rendezvous of Daniel Boone and other celebrated frontiersmen. It was, and is, but a few miles distant from Augusta, the town previously mentioned.

[67]The journey had consumed four months, lacking a few days; the first stage had been to Red Stone Old Fort (now Brownsville, Pa.), at the head of navigation on the Monongehela River. Here they had wintered, building the boats in which they were to travel and awaiting the assembly of a sufficient body of travelers to insure assistance and protection.

When once the water journey had begun the movement was speedy. They had not proceeded very far when on January 25th, they landed "Where Braddock was defeated—Alleghany County," to bury the little Mary Willis; on the eleventh day following they were at Limestone.

Regarding Redstone, a traveler wrote in 1769, "This post known in border history as Redstone Old Fort, became the rallying point of the pioneers, and was familiar to many an early settler as his place of embarkation for the dark and bloody ground." Redstone Old Fort

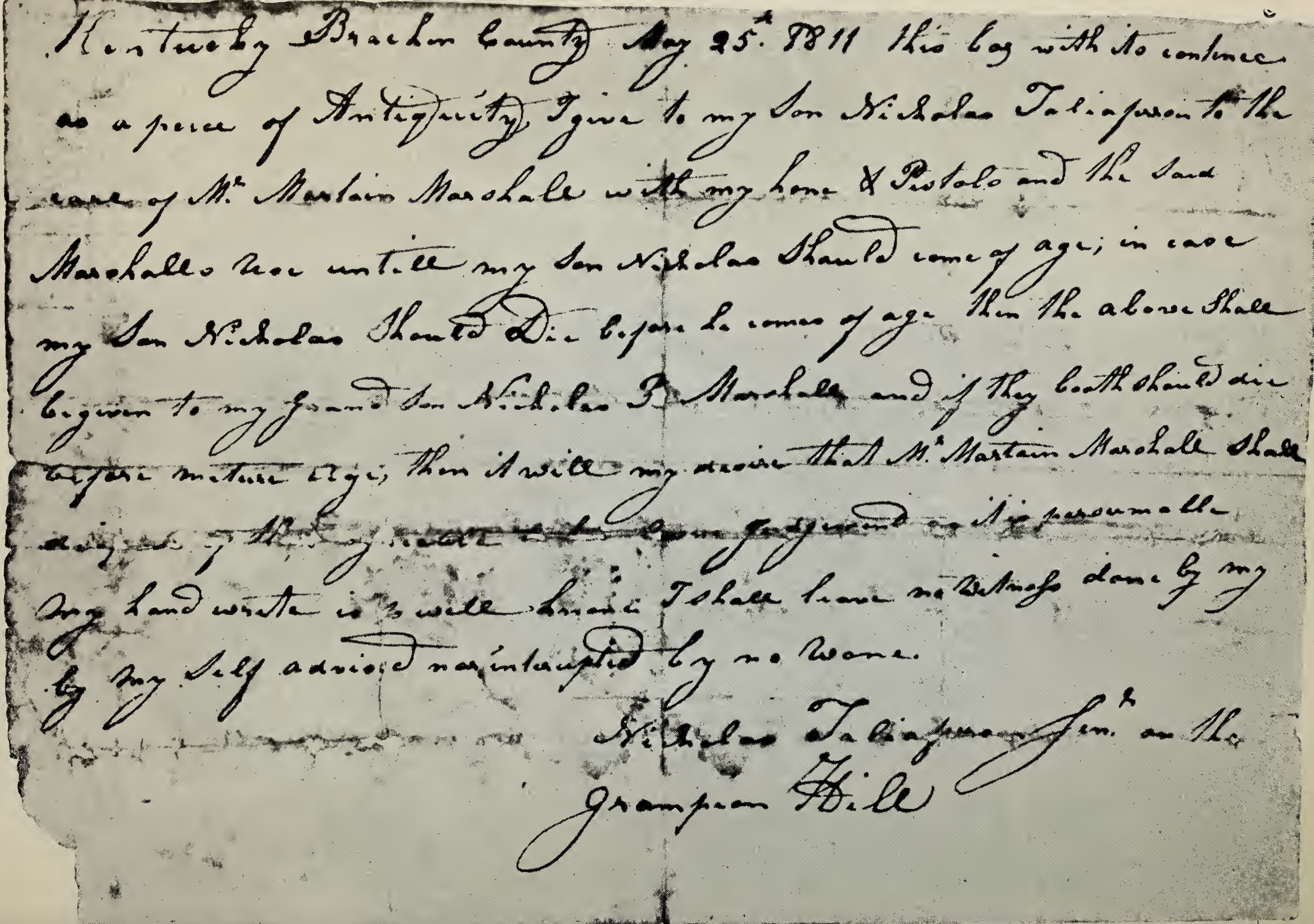
was a pre-historic formation similar to those discovered elsewhere in the Ohio Valley. No trace of it remains today nor any adequate description of it.

Dr. Slaughter says, "Col. Frank Taylor's diary enables one to form a life-like conception of the animated social circle of which Orange C. H. was the center from 1786 to 1799. . . . there was an almost continuous influx of visitors, chiefly from Spotsylvania, Caroline and Culpeper, and a stream of visitors to and from Kentucky by way of Culpeper, Winchester, and Red Stone in Monongalia."

[68]After the death of Nicholas T. his widow with her young children and step-children continued to live at Grampian Hill. It is located about seven miles from Augusta, Bracken Co., and some three miles from Minerva, a village in Mason Co. The estate passed to Nicholas, Jr., and there he lived a long and useful life; he was married in 1829 to Elizabeth Kelsey (whose mother was a Fee), and they had issue, two children, William Alonzo and Laura Augusta Caroline. Grampian Hill is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. C. D. Asbury, the latter a daughter of William Alonzo and great-granddaughter of Nicholas, Sr. The original house is no longer standing; the present home was built by Nicholas 2d.

[69]While the "Register" is remarkable for the completeness with which its many names, dates and details is attended, it is also somewhat remarkable for its omissions. From the fact that Nicholas mentions only one aunt, Martha (Hunter), it has been supposed in some quarters that his father had but the one sister; yet from his grandfather's tombstone we learn that he "Had issue two sons and three daughters." These daughters were Martha, Lucy and Mary. It was from these two sisters that William T. derived the double name, Lucy Mary, which he bestowed upon his only daughter and which Nicholas, in turn, bestowed upon his own daughter. These three daughters were also mentioned by name in their father's will, 1744. (Spots. Co. Will Book A, p. 395.) Lucy married Col. Charles Lewis and Mary married Joseph Jones. (Note 18.)

Nicholas does not mention the marriage of his sister, Lucy Mary, though he records her among the sureties for his infant daughter who was her namesake, as "Mrs. Lucy Mary Thurston. As a matter of fact she was twice married, both recorded in Orange Co.: "June 5th, 1773, William Plummer Thurston and Lucy Mary Taliaferro"; "April 5th, 1791, St. Thomas' parish, Hay Taliaferro and Lucy Mary


Kentucky Bracken County May 25th 1811 this bag with its contence
as a piece of Antiquity I give to my Son Nicholas Taliaferro to the
care of Mr. Martain Marshall with my horse & Pistols and the said
Marshalls use untill my Son Nicholas Should come of age; in case
my Son Nicholas Should Die before he comes of age then the above Shall
be given to my Grand Son Nicholas T. Marshall and if they both Should die
before mature age, then it will my desire that Mr. Martain Marshall Shall
dispose of them by [illegible] judgment as his personalle
my hand write is so well known I shall have no witness done by my
by my Self advised uninterupted by no wone.

Nicholas Taliaferro Sen. on the
Grampian Hill

Thurston (Widow); Witness Lawrence Taliaferro, Bondsman Francis Dade."

Nicholas mentions the marriage of only one of his children, Lucy Mary to William Buckner; yet two others had married prior to 1811, Matilda Battaile to Martin Marshall, 1803, and John Champe to Susan Buckner, 1808. (For descendants of Matilda Battaile (Marshall) see Paxton's "Marshall Family.")

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that there is at this time, as far as is known to the writer, but one living descendant of Nicholas Taliaferro in the line male; on the distaff side, however, they are numerous, and widely scattered

[70]Of the other children who reached maturity, and married, George Catlett had issue, Motica Ann and John N. Lawrence Washington had at least one child, Matilda, who married Col. Alfred Soward.

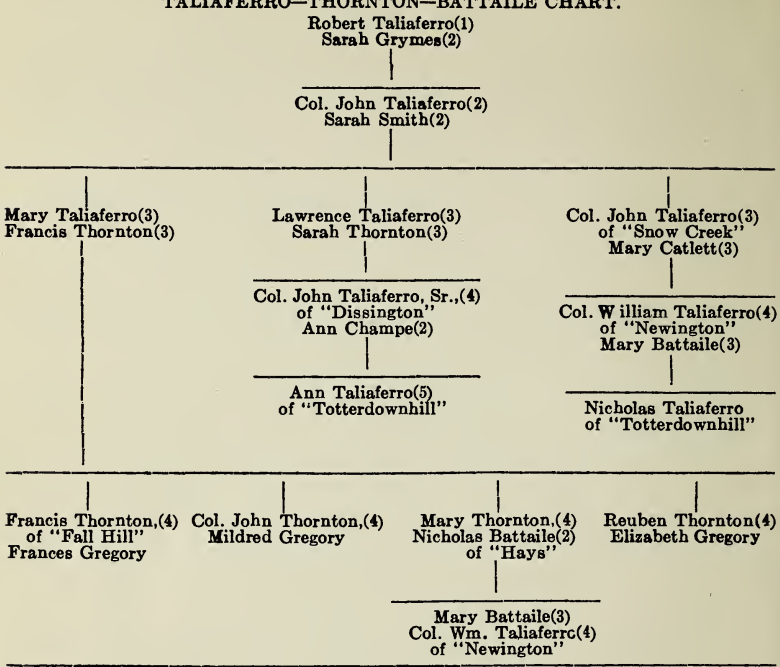
Nicholas, Jr., as already mentioned had two children, Wm. Alonzo and Laura Augusta Caroline.

In his will Nicholas made a bequest to his son, Nicholas, Jr., then only five years old, of a case of pistols, razors and shaving utensils, "As articles of Antiquity"; this case he confided to Mr. Martin Marshall, his son-in-law, enclosing in it a memorandum of his wishes in the premises. This memorandum is still preserved at Grampian Hill and it is here reproduced in facsimile; it reads:

"Kentucky, Bracken County, May 25th, 1811: This box with its contence as a piece of Antiquity I give to my son Nicholas Taliaferro to the care of Mr. Martin Marshall with my hone and pistols and the said Marshalls use untill my son Nicholas should come of age; in case my son Nicholas should Die before he comes of age then the above shall be given to my grandson Nicholas T. Marshall and if they boath should die before mature age then it will (be) my desire that Mr. Martin Marshall shall dispose of same agreeable to his own judgement as it is presumable my hand write is so well known I shall have no witness done by myself advised nor interupted by no wone."

Nicholas Taliaferro Sen'r. on the
Grampian Hill.

TALIAFERRO—THORNTON—BATTAILE CHART.



ADAIR PLEASANTS ARCHER

THE QUAKER'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE REVOLUTION.

By Adair P. Archer.[1]

In the grip of war once more, the Christian world sweats blood. Shall America enter the maelstrom? Our liberty on the high seas is imperiled. What should our course be? The analogy, though not over exact, is still worthy of note. Nearly a hundred and fifty years ago the nation faced a harsher situation, war or tyranny. We are apt to think of the Colonies at that time as a single unit, dauntless, patriotic, resolved with Henry upon "Liberty or death." There was, however, a sturdy element which stood aloof from the tempests of the mob, patriotism to these meant something higher and harder than a glorious sacrifice of life, it meant humbleness and tireless patience in the cause of peace. In reviewing then, the attitude of the Colonial Quakers towards war, let us be sensible of its contrast with our own present day viewpoint that the latter may be tempered by a conception of

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[1]Adair Pleasants Archer, eldest son of William Wharton and Rosalie Pleasants Archer, was born in Richmond, Aug. 31, 1894 and died at Camp Grant Hospital October 6, 1918.

He was a student at the University of Virginia 1912-15, spent the winter of 1913 in the U. S. Indian service, travelled in Europe during the summer of 1914, entered Harvard University 1915, and took his degree of B. A. 1917. While awaiting appointment in some training camp, which was refused him on account of his light weight, he edited "Trench and Camp," the Y. M. C. A. paper for Camp Lee, and also organized the Little Theatre League of Richmond.

He had difficulty in securing consideration as an officer on account of his delicate health, but had been recommended for a commission just five days before the outbreak of influenza in the camp He was one of the first victims. He published nothing during his life, but left a large number of MSS, of which this is one. His literary ability was generally recognized and a brilliant future as a scholar and artist seemed opening before him.

something more palmary than national honor—the honor of the Christian world.

The facts of the pre-revolutionary period are history. It is not the intent of this paper to dwell more on these than need be. But facts and feelings are by no means concomitant. We can glean the former from public documents, memorials or traditions; the latter are more intangible and it is these I shall aim to ensnare. A short paper, dealing with an historic subject, may plead two excuses; it may be a clever, concise synthesis of other people's findings, or it may embody original data. This essay urges the latter as its justification. And as there is hardly room for both, the writer has determined to exclude the usual re-hash of authorities, and stick to his own original material, which consists of the letters, never before edited, of Robert Pleasants, an ancestor.

Robert Pleasants,[2] "of Curles,"—as he subscribes himself, was born in 1722. He was a descendant of John Pleasants, one of the most prominent of the early Quaker settlers in Virginia, and among the first there to be persecuted for his religious convictions. He came from a line of philanthropists—his kinsman, Thomas Pleasants of Dublin, being especially notable in this connection. He himself was not only among the most active but among the most influential members of the Society of Friends in America. He numbers among his correspondents some of the most distinguished in Quaker annals and I think we may justly accept his sentiments as orthodox and typical. He was one of the richest planters in the Colony, despite burdensome taxes and the fact that he freed all his slaves, having previously educated them, at a personal loss of some three thousand pounds. He was president of the Abolition Society in Virginia and he devoted his life, in the main, to the cause of educating the negroes with emancipation as the end in view. Robert Pleasants[3] the first, author of these let-

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[2]See *W. & M. Quarterly*, 2 Ser. v. 1, no. 2, p. 107. Other letters of Robert Pleasants will be printed in succeeding numbers of the *Quarterly*.

[3]The daughter of Robert Pleasants and Elizabeth Randolph, Mary Webster Pleasants, married John G. Mosby, whose daughter, Virginia Cary, was the grandmother of Adair P. Archer.

ters, married Mary Webster. His son, Robert Pleasants married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Mann Randolph, and sixth in descent from Pocahontas and John Rolfe. His life was spent at "Curle's Neck," one of his plantations on the upper "James."

I shall seek, in the following pages, first, to review briefly the attitude of the government towards the Quakers, and secondly the Quakers' attitude towards the struggle for independence, that, lastly, we may arrive at some conclusion regarding the true position of the Quakers, about which historical material is of the meagrest kind.

The Society of Friends was, from the date of its founding by Fox in 1644, ever a thorn in the side of the Government. The principles of the Quaker were misunderstood for centuries. The obvious reasons for this are the uncouth mode of habit and speech adopted by the Friends, and their studied aloofness. Furthermore it was a principle with them not to bruit abroad matters of doctrine, but to submit meekly to misunderstanding and injustice. Quakers appeared in this country, first at Boston in 1656. In Massachusetts their persecutions were frightful. They were jailed, whipped, branded, their ears were cut off, their tongues bored, they were even hanged. In Pennsylvania the settlement by Penn enjoyed comparative freedom and prosperity until revolutionary troubles obliged the Quakers there to take a stand equally obnoxious to both Governments. In Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, Friends were tormented by excessive fines and were occasionally whipped or imprisoned. By 1750, however, most of the Colonial governments—and by that time Quakers were everywhere—had compromised with them to a greater or lesser extent, and their attitude towards swearing, and military service and taxes were honored to some degree. Robert Pleasants makes a brief apology for this in a letter to Robert Bolling of Buckingham, Jan. 10, 1775:

"I apprehend if we are sequestered from the rest of the community we are by no means culpable for it. It is well known that we have always declined the use of the sword, as well as taking any oaths, supporting an hireling ministry, and some other matters, which, tho' peculiar to ourselves, are by no means intended,

or in justice ought to be, an exclusion from the common interests of the community; nor can I conceive how the community can be injured by our adherence to these principles. For if we cannot fight for the State, we cannot fight against it; and so long as we keep to truth (and I believe the contrary can't be charged upon us) swearing is unnecessary; and while we continue to be useful members of society and study the peace and welfare of the government we live under, every reasonable man will allow it is unjust we should be made to suffer for not conforming to a law in favor of a few individuals, utterly inconsistent with our belief."

The revolution brought things to a crisis. Every loyal American was called to the ranks and his credit and his property stood back of the struggling, young government. The Quakers refused to join the army of either side, or to pay taxes to further war; they even denied their moral support. Never understood, such an attitude, in the white heat of patriotic fervour, met almost everywhere contempt and resistance. There were no more compromises for conscience's sake. The oppression of the Friends was heavy. Their most notorious persecution—and it is, perhaps, the blackest spot on the early record of the Republic—occurred in Pennsylvania. A spurious document known as the "Spanktown Memorial" and purporting to be the work of British spies, was fathered upon the Quakers. A number of prominent Friends were arrested in Philadelphia, a hearing was refused them, their writ of *habeas corpus* ignored, their pleas to the Governor, the Council and Congress respectively overlooked, and seventeen of them were marshalled under guard to Winchester, Va., where they remained until the cumbersome machinery of the new government arranged at length for their release. Writing at this time, the county lieutenant remarks, " . . . Tories and the leaders of the Quakers, and two more offensive stigmas in their estimation (the people of the county,) could not be fixed upon men."

Unwarrantable as seems this whole procedure, there are two things to be said in behalf of the Colonists. (I), Brissot de Warville notes the following in his "Nouveau Voyage": "They, (the Quakers) were treated by both sides with confidence. The spies, encouraged by this, at length habited themselves as Quakers and

several were actually hung in that costume." (II), The Quakers appear to have been almost uniformly well to do. Their example regarding the payment of taxes permitted of a very discreditable interpretation which, we may be sure, the populace at large was quick to put upon them.

When the war was over, these shadows abated somewhat, people began to realize that the Quaker, if he had not supported the revolutionists, assuredly had not abetted the English, and it was evident that his resistance had lost him more, materially speaking, than he could have suffered had he submitted to taxation with the rest. The Friends entered trustfully into the new regime with what Janney (a Quaker) has called "their professed principles to 'render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.'" Washington, in his courteous response to the address of the Society upon his inauguration, probably voices the opinion of the nation when he speaks as follows: it is doing the people called Quakers no more than justice to say that (*except their declining to share with others in the burthens of common defense*), there is no denomination who are more exemplary and useful citizens." Is this exception warranted? Let us turn to the apology of the Quaker himself.

It is a matter of record that "testimony" against the war was practically uniform among the Quakers. There were, to be sure, certain trivial differences in the various communities, some feeling that they could accede to fines and taxes without spiritual perturbations and others stubbornly resisting the tritest compromise. The Quakers were one, in this instance, as in all others in the past, in condemning war as an institution. Their attitude depends, however, in part upon certain immediate causes. Beyond these there was the general principle of the Society which maintained that Christ had, by his words and actions, prohibited to his followers, violence of any form and under any circumstances. It was held that the pure, primitive church had followed these examples and injunctions to the letter and it was not permissible for latter-day commentators to juggle their meaning.

In addition to their religious objections, the Quakers viewed war as ethically wrong. It is related that a notable Quaker, shortly after the revolution, said to Washington, "all that we ever

gained by revolution is not an adequate compensation to the poor, mangled soldier for the loss of life and limb." The President is said to have replied. "I honor your sentiments; there is more in that than mankind have generally considered." Whether the story be true or not, it is certain that Robert Pleasants advances the same line of argument. Let it be owned that thro inaction liberty is sacrificed, yet if war is entered into, life is liable to be forfeited. Life is more sacred and of more account than liberty. Pleasants writes the following to his brother-in-law, John Thomas, May 30, 1775:

"News of great importance, indeed, may be expected when the lives, the property, and liberty, both civil and religious, of the people of this continent, as well of the present as succeeding generations, may be effected by the present movements of contending parties. An awful consideration, indeed, and such as calls loudly to those who are more immediately entrusted with the affairs of State to be endowed with wisdom in the direction thereof. These inestimable blessings ought never to be trifled with, it appears to me that in very few instances men have a right to take it away. The liberty and property are secondary enjoyments that derive their origin from the sacred source and ought to be held very sacred."

The Quakers were in a quandary at the time of the revolution, for, besides the sentiments just stated, another one of their principles decreed that liberty was an inherent right of man. Could they be indifferent at heart then to the impending struggle for liberty? Robert Pleasants has balanced the question. He writes as follows in the letter before quoted:

"In justification of these opinions, [viz.: these relations to military service and taxes], it may not be necessary at present to say any more than that we believe they are unlawful, under the Gospel dispensation (at least to us), and which we concieve to be expressly forbidden by our Saviour and his apostles and confirmed by the practice of the primitive Christians for near three hundred years after. It is very manifest that a dark night of apostasy did prevail over the churches and that the first reformers were made instruments in the hands of God to point out and dis-

cover many of the enormities and imposturers that had crept in, as well in principle as practice, which plainly appeared by the persecutions which were raised against them. Is it not then advisable that the very people who so nobly testified against the superstition and tyranny of the church of Rome, as soon, almost, as they had shaken the yoke from their own necks and become vested with power, they should endeavor to stop the progress of the reformation by persecuting others who saw, or at least believed they saw, the dregs of popery still remaining, in many instances, among those called Protestants? This was the case with us, and our records testify how deeply many were made to suffer in their lives, their persons, and their properties from motives as truly consciencious and which, on the most narrow scouting, I conceive would be found so free from tending to prejudice that I believe they would promote the welfare of the community."

"Since then, we have suffered so deeply by an arbitrary power, can it be doubted that we are insensible of the value, or disaffected to the cause of liberty? No, and, perhaps, as far as the associations and revolutions of the late Congress may be consistent with what we, and every thinking person, must allow to be of a higher and more important nature, we may be as depended on for firmness and perseverance as others. And, in every instance where we have had the direction of government, we have always allowed the full enjoyment of that liberty and indulgence we ever craved; the good policy of which appears manifest, especially in these young countries, by the rapid progress which some countries have made in every useful employment."

Pleasants here insinuates the answer of the Quaker to the objection that principles of peace and freedom, while well enough in theory, could not expediently be put into practice. Penn's government was a test which, in their eyes, confuted this finally. From the above it would seem we are justified in agreeing with Professor's Weeks' statement that the Quakers were "logically and historically on the side of the Colonists in the question at issue."

We ought, though, to bear in mind four other particular factors which tended to equalize their sentiments at this time. (I) their real body was in England. It had given birth to, and nur-

tured, the American Societies. With the English Quakers, who were ever ready with sympathy and assistance, those abroad would have no quarrel, they did not participate in any political movements—indeed by the tenets of their faith they were necessarily non-partisan. Any resistance of the Colonies, backed by the tacit sympathy of American Quakers, must assuredly give offense to those at home. (II) The chief cause of discontent in America was taxation without representation. Under existing conditions taxes were demanded of the Quakers, against their conscience, by the Colonial government. As far then as liberty went, the Quakers had almost as much ground for complaint against these latter as against the mother country. (III) Not only this, but Friends were less able to protest in the name of unjust taxation, than others, since, by the terms of William Penn's charter—and the other Societies in America harked back to Philadelphia like branches to the root—it was expressly stipulated that Parliament could, at its own discretion, levy taxes upon the provinces.

Yet another circumstance swayed the Quakers to non-partisanship, and this, of the immediate cause, I deem the most potent. (IV) It was claimed that the colonies had no right to demand liberty which they were unwilling to extend to their dependents—religious liberty to dissenters, and freedom to slaves. The following extracts illustrate what a pressing influence this was with Robert Pleasants. Let us repeat, in this connection, that Pleasants favored emancipation only after the slaves had been properly educated. His immediate aim was to put an end to the slave trade.

[To Robert Bolling, Jan. 16, 1775.]

"It appears also to me that it would be consistent with our interests as well as duty, while we are contending with the Mother country respecting arbitrary measures she would impose on us, to remember to do the same justice to our dependents who have an equal right to it. This, I believe, would be an acceptable sacrifice, and speak louder for the cause even among our enemies than cannon, mortars, or any other instruments of death. I would not be understood to mean that the justice I speak of is only due to

dissenters in general or to our Society in particular; I wish it were extended to the poor slaves who have an equal right to freedom with ourselves."

[To John Thomas, May 30, 1775.]

"But while we are condemning the Mother country for endeavoring to deprive us of the latter [*liberty*], let us consider our own conduct in respect to those we look upon to be our inferiors and not withhold such valuable privilege from them. 'Cast out the beam that is in thine own eye,' said our blessed Saviour, 'and then thou shalt see clearly to pluck the mote out of thy brother's eye.' And we are enjoined from the same authority to 'do unto others as we would they should do unto us'—But alas! how are these things regarded. Our actions don't keep pace with the knowledge and the solid arguments which have been advanced in the cause of *Liberty* and c. We as a people are principled against fighting, should we not be equally concerned to remove the cause of it? The times seem to call for diligence in this important matter and a further progress in the great work that hath been begun. It is true in this Colony we are under particular restraints in that respect, but I am ready to think at times, that ought not to stop its progress, and I hope to see some stepping forward according to the knowledge that may be afforded, but if that should be the case, I believe the work will go forward and, in time, be effected, so that slavery may cease from among a people so sensible of the value of liberty and so tenacious of their right to enjoy it. And I believe the sooner it is accomplished the more it would resound to the honor, as well as advantage of America. *And I am fully of opinion that if it is not voluntarily done it will be brought about, perhaps, by means fatal to the present possession.*" This last sentence, tho' erased in the original, is so remarkable in view of the result of the Civil War that I have included it here.

Then, despite the appeal of the cause, there were certain restraining influences, outside their faith, which urged temperate action upon the Quakers. Friends must have played no small part in the deliberation of Congress, which met in Philadelphia where they

were wealthy and influential. The following letter would seem to attest this fact. It is one of three, all written by way of introduction for the Virginia delegates, to prominent Philadelphia Quakers. Israel Pemberton—to whom it is addressed, was one of the oldest members of the Society in Pennsylvania. Later he was among the band exiled to Virginia, and with Samuel, brother of Robert Pleasants, was exceedingly active in procuring their release.

[To Israel Pemberton—Philadelphia. Aug. 22, 1774]

"Dear Uncle:

"This is intended by the Commissioners appointed by this Colony to attend the general congress in Philadelphia, on American affairs viz; Peyton Randolph—our late Speaker, Richard Bland, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, George Washington, and Benjamin Harrison, whom I take the freedom to recommend to thy particular notice as men who have deserved well of this country for their steady attachments to its interests and most, if not all of them, for their favorable sentiments and service to Friends; particularly Bland, Henry, and Lee, who are great speakers in our House of Assembly and were very able advocates for us at the time we made application for relief from militia fines, indeed, I am well pleased that the Congress is to be held in Philadelphia because friends may have an opportunity, (if they find it their duty to concern in the matter) to endeavor to moderate the resolves of that respectable assembly, on which the future welfare of America seems so much to depend. For, though it may be determined to persevere with firmness in opposition to Parliamentary taxations, yet as it appears to me to be the duty, so it is likely to be the interest of the Americans to use every lenient measure by way of petition from the United Colonies, enforced by a respectable embassage, before other means of an offensive nature be put in execution.'

Thy affectionate friend and kinsman

Robert Pleasants."

Careful and moderate as was the course adopted by America, it was, as we know, barren of results. In 1776 Quaker representatives from the several Colonies met in Philadelphia. War was perceived to be inevitable and a plan of conduct had to be formulated for the Society. Its attitude was decreed strictly non-partisan. Since feasible means had been of no avail, there was still no excuse, in the eyes of Friends, for force, which under any circumstances was banned.

This Quaker policy of non-partisanship was not quietly accepted by the American Government. Finding the converts of the patriotic enthusiasm insufficient to sweep down their barriers of conscience, the revolutionists determined to get all that they could from the Friends, in default of their service. First, heavy taxes were levied against them for support of the army. Secondly, oppressive fines were demanded when the Quaker refused, as he always did, to attend muster. In Virginia, and in some other sections, those disclaiming active service were compelled to hire a substitute. Lastly the British and Colonial armies made free with the Quakers possessions in an unwarrantable manner. Robert Pleasants writes as follows to his brother:

(To Samuel Pleasants. Feb. 15, 1781).

I am fully of thy opinion in respect to an increase in our sufferings. We have had a specimen of what, in all probability may become more general, in the march of the British army from Westover (where they landed) to Richmond . . . . . this, with the seizure of every kind of property wanted by the other party, high taxes, etc, afford indeed a melancholy prospect. O that it may lead us to a right sense of, and from, our multiplied transgressions, is my sincere desire!"

Another letter attests the arbitrary measure resorted to in Virginia and the unjust discrimination against the Quaker.

Sept. 3, 1780.

"Col. Southdale:

"Sometime ago Ryland Randolph's overseer showed me a list of about fifteen names, among which was mine and against it a

sum near £1200. Against four or five others were annexed different sums to the amount, in the whole, as well as I remember, to between one and two thousand pounds; and to the others, ten in number, not a shilling. He said they were about to hire a man to go into the army, and that the people mentioned in the list were to pay the hire in proportion to the several sums against each name. I have been since told that my estate is to be made liable to be seized for upwards of £400 (say £4500) of it, owing, it is said, to the divisions of this county being regulated according to the last year's assessment, when I was made subject to a treble taxation. But thou may remember that before the passing of the act for raising these men, the other law against nonjurors was repealed, so that I can't conceive with what propriety or by what law, justice, or reason, I should now, in this or any other instance be made liable to a treble tax. It seems also highly unwarrantable to me that men who are not liable to pay a shilling should have it in their power to hire a man on any terms they please at my expense to screen themselves from a draft. People don't always feel for others when they themselves are safe, and I was told, one of those very men said they would give £5000 for a man rather than submit to a draft.

"I mention this matter to thee from a supposition that thou hast the principle discretion in conveying these laws and regulations into execution and from an expectation that, if I am thus made liable to suffering thro' inadvertancy, (which I charitably hope was the case) thou wilt endeavour to have it rectified.

"I am respectfully thy friend,
"Robert Pleasants."

It should not be gathered that Pleasants acceded to the government, merely because such claims are recognized in the above letter. Against summary seizure the Quaker was impotent, and in this way fines and taxes were collected. His private views regarding the attitude to be adopted towards such levies are stated thus:

[To Thomas Nicholson, Dec. 5, 1779.]

"Being fully persuaded that a general conformity of conduct to the sense and judgment of the body of Friends tends to the mutual strength and encouragement of each member, I am inclined to offer a few hints to thy consideration respecting the part I have been told our Friends of the 2nd. yearly meeting of Perquimans hath acted or are likely to act . . . the matter I allude to is that it hath been said most or all our friends of that quarter were likely voluntarily to pay the taxes imposed for the support of the war which for sometime past hath prevailed to the destruction of the lives, the property, and just liberty of thousands; and contrary to the judgments and practices of those in the western quarter of our province as well as most others on the continent of America. . . . Although many did, the last year, submit to the payment of a single tax levied, as the act declared for saving or preserving the credit of the paper currency which, (although emitted for the purpose of carrying on the war) friends had made use of, as others, as a medium of trade and from that consideration were induced to contribute towards the support of its credit. Yet seeing that instead of the money so raised being applied to those purposes, it hath been thrown again into consideration and moreover, very large sums hath been emitted since for the express purpose of continuing the war. It appears clear to my judgment that Friends can no more pay the tax than take the test, for they are both calculated to promote the same ends and make us parties in the destruction, the violence and confusion consequent to such intestine commotion; and would it not be repugnant to reason to contribute by taxes to the support of either party who may happen to prevail, whom we could not, under the present unsettled state of affairs, be free to acknowledge?"

Despite these hardships, the Quakers remained consistent—nay they increased their firmness as the government tightened its thumb-screws. There were, of course, a few who fell. And the temptation must have been biting to a hot-blooded youth, when the whole country was swayed by a passion for freedom. For those few there was no leniency. The Society to maintain its principles, had to stand together. The slightest inconsistence

was bound to raise criticism and there were too many already who regarded the Quakers' attitude as a pose—an evasion of responsibility. The following letters ring with a martyr-like strength of purpose:

[To Thomas Nicholson, December 5th, 1779]

"I apprehend that such deviations of conduct and sentiment must also tend to discourage those who conceive it to be their duty to suffer the loss of life, liberty, and property, rather than violate the testimony of a good conscience, and also to the strengthening the bands of their persecutors; for it seems natural enough for such to conclude, when the same conduct is not generally observed by the Society, especially those of the same province, that their refusal proceeds from obstinacy and, of course, they may be induced to inflict the more serious punishment to promote their designs, the tendency whereof hath been surely marked in many places with devastation, cruelty, injustice, and depravity of morals exceeding any era heretofore known in these parts of America."

[To John Crew. October 8-1780]

"Thy son Exum tells me that he is going to sea in an armed vessel, and that he has the full consent of his father and mother for so doing. For a tender regard for his good and the reputation of his worthy parents, I was induced to query with him whether he thought, in case of an attack at sea, he would have resolution to withstand the scoffs and threats of the people on board so as not to give up the privilege of peace in which he had been favored with an education. And also whether he had been plainly explicit with the Captain. For it appears absolutely necessary, if he has any intention of preserving the unity of his friends that the Captain should not be deceived in time of action. I know it is a time of great suffering to parents and trial to children, but I have often desired that our suffering and trials may not accede the strength afforded and I am persuaded, at times, beyond a doubt, that, if there is a sufficient degree of faith, patience, and reliance on him who cares for sparrows, the trials will tend to refine and to make more fit for the service of the day,

and that a day is approaching in which the Son of Righteousness will again shine with brightness and comfort to those who steadily persevere, which rest thou, and I, and all that appertain to us, may do is the sincere desire of thy old friend."

[To Matthew Pleasants. Dec. 26th 1780].

"Report having been made to our monthly meeting that you had so far deviated from thy education and practice of friends as to attend at muster and act as a military man, Amos Ladd and myself were appointed to visit and endeavor to convince thee of the impropriety of such conduct. I submitted to the appointment from an expectation that thy place of abode was still at thy brother Joseph's, but being since informed that thou art removed to Goochland County, and not knowing when I may have an opportunity of seeing thee, conclude it might be best to inform thee by letter of the matter and, withal to advise thee that, if the report should be true, or that thou should have seen the inconsistency of such practices, so as with sincerity to condemn them, to lose no time in communicating the desirable intelligence, whereby thou may be restored to the unity of thy Friends, who are concerned for thy welfare and happiness. On the contrary, if thou should have deviated in so essential a point, from a determination to persist in such a mode of conduct, thou cant reasonably expect any other than to be excluded from a right of membership in a Society to whose discipline thou dont choose to conform. I wish, however, thou wouldst solidly consider the matter, and if thou canst not justify war from the doctrines and example of our Saviour, His apostles, and the primitive Christians, would it not be a dangerous innovation, to set up thy own judgment in opposition to the highest authorities? Wherein should thou be mistaken after having been favored with a different education, the greater will be thy condemnation."

[To Mary Pleasants. Feb. 1781]

"Altho' the times are distressing in many respects, nothing gives me so much pain of mind as a fear lest he (a son) should

be prevailed on by a fear of suffering, or fallacious arguments and example of some, who have been favored, as well as himself, with a religious education, and turned their backs on it, to take up arms; indeed, it looks to me as if the approaching difficulties would try every foundation and earnestly wish, with thee, that, those who have been favored with the beauty and excellence of an holy life, may press forward with a full purpose of heart and dependence that he who cares for sparrows will not suffer the trials of such to exceed the support and strength afforded, so that we may be favored to say in the conclusion, with the apostle, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith."

And now the Quaker has bared his heart to us—what did he find there? Assuredly nothing of selfishness or surfeiting. We must judge his attitude in the light of his own spiritual conception. It is, I think, something which arguments and formal proof cannot justify. Was he a fanatic? Undoubtedly. And was he a traitor? There were many to dub him so in his own day, but distance has cleared our view. Finally, was he a patriot? Not in the strict sense of the word, truly—and yet, has the word a more transcendant meaning? What impelled that stubborn resistance to all which seemed just and noble? The Quaker would answer, "the Divine spirit." Spiritual vagaries find no sympathy in a world of action. We must grant, however, that it was something strong and supernatural which could snatch those souls out of the turgid current of a land, shriveled to the core by the travail of a nation's birth, which held them aloof and let them measure dispassionately the pro and con of abstract justice. We need not agree or even admire, but we must look with wonder back on those who to us and to succeeding centuries, will typify, in the words of Robert Pleasants, "the pure principles of Peace and Righteousness and which we, of this generation, are called to bear testimony to."

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[1]The title of this edition is "Commentaries on the laws of England. By Sir William Blackstone, one of his majesty's judges of the county common pleas. Reprinted from the British copy, page for page with the last edition. America: Printed for the subscribers, by Robert Bell, at the late Union Library, in Third Street, Philadelphia, MDCCLXXII." 4v. A copy is in the library of William and Mary College. Blackstone in 1758 was appointed the first Vinerian professor of English law at Oxford University. The first volume of his Commentaries, published under his own supervision, appeared in 1765, and the other three volumes at intervals during the next four years. The first professorship of law in the United States was established at William and Mary College in 1779 by the Board of Overseers. The statute of the Board creating this and other professorships has been recently discovered in the *Virginia Gazette* of Dec. 18, 1779, the only copy being in the State Library.

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[1]Mistake for Kings Co., N. Y.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM BYRD II, AND SIR HANS SLOANE RELATIVE TO PLANTS AND MINERALS OF VIRGINIA.[1]

From the British Transcripts, Library of Congress. Sloane 4040 f. 151.

Virginia the 20th of April 1706.

Sir

The news of my Fathers Death hurry'd me so suddenly from England, that I had not time to receive the commands of the Society, or of your Self, so Laborious a member of it. However I think my Self oblig'd to offer my Service by this first opportunity, and should be very ambitious to do any thing for you, that might make me worthy of the honour I have of being of that illustrious Body, that are ever at work for the good of ungratefull mankind.

The country where fortune hast cast my Lot, is a large feild for natural inquirys, and tis much to be lamented, that we have not some people of skil and curiosity amongst us. I know no body here capable of makeing very great discoverys, So that Nature has thrown away a vast deal of her bounty upon Us to no purpose. Here be some men indeed that are call'd Doctors: but they are generally discarded Surgeons of Ships, that know nothing above very common Remedys. They are not acquainted enough with Plants or the other parts of Natural History, to do any Service to the World, which makes me wish that we had some missionary Philosopher, that might instruct us in the many usefull things which we now possess to no purpose.

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[1]The writer of these letters was the well known William Byrd, second of the name, born in 1674, died in 1744. As this correspondence shows, his inquisitive mind led him to take an interest in every subject. As a fellow of the Royal Society, he became a correspondent of Sir Hans Sloane, the secretary, from 1693 to 1712, president, 1727 to 1741, and the most distinguished botanist and physician in England of his day. He was born in 1660, and though of delicate health, lived until 1753. With his great collection of books and specimens, the British Museum was founded in 1754.

The infinite deal of business I had since my arrival has not permitted me to furnish my self with many observations upon the country. This may be allowd to be a very reasonable excuse for me, who found all my private affairs in great disorder after haveing been 8 months without an owner. And besides that, My Lord Treasurer has laid his commands upon me, to pass all my Fathers public accompts over again, which are of seaventeen years Standing. And I have been wholly employ'd upon that, to the neglect of my own necessary business, that I might be in condition to obey His Lordps commands before the sailing of this Fleet. This certainly will excuse me to the Society for this year, especially when I promise to be as Serviceable as I am able to it the next.

There's nothing Vexes me so much as to find in some of your ignorant newspapers, (God forbid I shoud call the Gazet one of these) that such a ship arriv'd in so many weeks from Virginia, & left the country very healthy. Which last remarque makes the world believe, that the Country is at other times generally very Sickly. But I can assure you, they do it abundance of wrong, that believe it to be so; for I fancy here be as few diseases as any were [where], and those that we have are justly to be chargd upon intemperance, or excessive ill management. Indeed the many Rivers, and the vast quantity of water all over the country incline people now, & then to agues, especially at the time of year, when people eat fruit without any other measure than the bigness of their bellys. But as Agues come by takeing cold, I set my Country men an example, that will guard 'em from that inconvenience, if they'll have the grace to follow it. I have all the last winter gone once or twice a week into the river, without being discourag'd by frost or Snow, and find so much benefit by that management, that I design always to continue it throughout the year. This hardens me and makes me proofe against all the sudden turns of weather, that give colds to other people. At first I passt for a madman for this unusual proceeding: but several do now begin in their opinions to be reconcil'd to my method, tho not in their practice. If People woud be perswaded to this, twoud Save a world of Jesuits bark, and Starve all our Doctors.

I have herewith sent a small box of the Root, with which the Indians us'd to cure the bite of a Rattle-Snake. And all the Traders which we send several hundreds of miles to traffick with the Indians, find it constantly to cure their horses, when they happen to be bit. I my Self have Servants that have try'd it often, and never knew it miss. The method is, as soon as ever they perceive either man or horse to be bit, they pound about the quantity 2 roots at most, and give it in water. It soon begins to operate violently by sweat, while the patient lys panting with the tongue out for 2 or 3 hours together, & then is perfectly well. What is wonderfull in this medicine is, that it has no sensible operation upon any creature that has not been poisond. Certainly a Plant that has virtue enough to cure so venemous a bite, as that of the Rattle-snake, must be of infinite use in other disasters. I beg the Society woud please to make some experimts with it, because I'm confident it will do great Service in many cases.

Pray do me the favour to let me hear from you, and let me know how the Society flourishes, with a full assurance of the utmost endeavours to promote its advantage by

Sir

Your most faithfull Servt

William Byrd.

P/S.

Since I writ the other side I have discover'd the true Hypoquecuana, of which I send you a Sample. Both the fashion of the Root and the similitude of the operation leave me no doubt that tis the same with that sent from the Spanish West Indies. However pray try it, and give me yours and the Societys opinion of it. I have also sent you the Root which we find a kind of a Specifique both for the dry gripes, and the Wind-Cholique. In those distempers it never fails to go thro the body, when nothing else will, if taken in a large quantity. I have put up also Some of our assarabbacca which we have of 2 sorts, but this is the best. Be pleas'd to let me know what uses may be made of all these things, that so I may be able to do good with them here, as I hope you will there. When I have more time, I hope I shall be

able to do more Service, in the mean while do me the justice to believe, that nobody has better inclinations to promote natural knowledge than my Self, and if you will direct me after what manner I may be most serviceable to the Society & to the common wealth of learning, I will readily obey you. If you have any thing curious there, I shoud be obliged to you, if you'll please to favour me with the knowledge of it. Be so kind as to send your letters to Mr. Micajah Perry in Leadenhall Street, and he will carefully convey them to me by the first opportunity. Adieu. Pray send me some Seed of lemmon-thime.

Sloane 4041 f 202

Virginia the 10 sept. 1708

Sr.

About two years since I saluted you and gave you the trouble of a few of our natural productions. I have had the pleasure of one letter from you upon that Subject, which gave me hopes of a full answer by the next opportunity. But I have heard no more of it since, and therefore I am afraid that letter miscarry'd with our Governour Col. Hunter who had the misfortune to be taken into France in October last. However it was, the haveing been without that Favour has very much discouraged my inquirys. You were mistaken in your conjecture that I sent you two sorts of Hippocoacanna, for tho some of it seemd curld, and the other smoth, yet both came off the same root, so that tho the curld may be best, it is not different in kind from the smooth. If it shoud be never so dear in Europe, I am confident the quantity that can be sent from hence will hardly make it cheaper, for it grows in very few places and there so thin, that it can be worth nobodys while to get it for sale It delights most in very rocky ground on the sides of Precipices, and always on a declivity. I planted some in my garden but it do's not thrive. I shoud be glad to hear how much it will sell for a pound however, that I may judge whether it be encouragement sufficient to employ anybody about it. By this fleet I send you a box with some more roots and seeds, that the Society may try if there be any virtue

in them. Amongst the rest, there is a Paper of a Root which I think very like Jalop, we call the plant here Poke, it bears a purple berry which woud dye an admirable coulour if we understood the right way of fixing it. For the good of my Country therefore I begg of you to send me the best ways to fix dyes, of which we are very ignorant. There is a Paper of a dangerous seed of a Plant which we call here Jamestown Weed, both the seed and the root are rank poison and so are the leaves when they are grown to their full bigness, but these are only poison if taken inwardly for both the Root and the leaves make a Poultis that cures a burn immediately. In another paper is a seed of the Jerusalem oak as we call it, which kills worms better than any wormseed I ever heard of. The way of takeing it, is to mix a spoonfull of the seed with honey, which must be eat 3 mornings together, and if the patient have worms in his Stomach or Grits it will infallibly kill them. You will find a Paper of Stickweed root (very common here) the green leaves of which never fail to stop bleeding either at the nose or else where, provided they be frequently apply'd fresh to the part affected. There is likewise a root for which I have no name, but by the tast I judge it to have a great deal of virtue. I wish I were acquainted with the ways of trying the virtues of Plants, of which we have here a surprizing variety: but our ignorance makes 'em of no use to us. Our Common snake-root with which you are so well acquainted in Engd. is a noble plant, and if the powder of it be put into Canary it restores the vigour of the Stomach effectually, if a man take 2 or 3 swallows of it sometimes. At my first arrival here I was troubled with a violent diarræa, which no medicine woud cure but I took this, and then I was cur'd presently, & have continu'd well ever since. I impute my Distemper wholly to the frequent use of the cold bath, wch upon that belief I have left off. We have several mines and Minerals in this country, which for want of men of skil rest quietly in their beds. You woud do me a particular kindness if you woud please to send me the Samples of Several ores, that I might by compareing them with those which I find be able to make some judgment of them. I have Strong inclinations to promote naturall History, and to do ser-

vice to the Society: I wish I were qualify'd to do it with effect, but my best endavours you may always depend upon. Pray let me have the joy of hearing from you often, and if I can be of any use to you here, You have a right to command him who is with much truth

Sir
Your most faithfull humble Servt.
W Byrd.

Whenever you have the goodness to send
your commands to me be pleas'd to direct them to Mr. Perry in Leadenhall Street who will by the first occasion give them a safe conveyance.
Endorsed Sept. 10, 1708.

Sloane 4068, f. 54.

London Dec. 7, 1709.

I am very sorry my Second letter hath not reached you I do not much wonder it should happen so in warr time especially when Copies are not sent by other Ships. However there is no great losse to you unlesse there be in Virginia quantity of that Sort of Ipecoacanna which I gave you notice of which may be sold at thirty Shil. per pound. It does seem to me very Strange that there should not be had of it in plenty. There are great contrivances by the Author of Nature for the Continuance and propagation of all Creatures & particularly Vegetables, so that I believe scarce any have perish'd since the creation of this time notwithstanding the Consumption of them for Severall purposes. I have heard that the Dutch have been at Immense expences in destroying the Spice trees in the E. Indies and that yet they cannot lessen their annuall expences upon that acct. I mentn. these particulars that you may look abt & I dare say you will find plenty of it & you will save so much money as goes from hence to Portugall & Spain on this Occasion.

I have recd the box you Sent by the person you gave it to abt

a week ago. It had been open'd at the Custom house & the severall particulars you mention were in it 'bating the Stick weed which has been either left behind or taken out. The root you call Poke is not Jalap but the root of the Solanum racemosum Americanum of Mr. Ray in his history of plants. This plant I mett with in the Caribe Islands & Jamaica and have given some acct of it in my History of that Island. A spoonfull or two of Juice of the root when green will purge but when dryed the root has not that effect. The Colour you mention to be in the Berries hath been taken notice of and they are used in New England for dying a reddish colour, but as to the fixing the colours I have never heard of anything used so much as Alom & clean sort of potash. The James town weed is a Stramonium which I have likewise mett with in Jamaica & the Caribes & is without question a great poyson. It intoxicates & takes away the Sences after the manner of the Dutroa of the East Indies & that in a small quantity of any of the parts of this plant And yet the observation you make of its use in burns is taken notice of long since by Gerard in his herball where is a very good acct. of it, and 'tis called Thorny Apple from the fruit it bears being prickly & somthing of the shape of an Apple.

The plant you mention under the name of Jerusalem oak is the Botrys Ambroscoides Mexiocana of Casper Bauhine & other herbarists. It may very likely kill worms given with hony. Honey is certainly one of the greatest killers of worms any Medicine we have, tho commonly because Sweet it is otherwise esteem'd. The Seed you sent over has been used to be putt into Cloaths to preserve them from moths which are a sort of worms when they do the mischief to apparell. I cannot but admire this plant for one property for tho it be so volatile as to give without touching a strong & not unpleasant quick sent yet I have had of it twenty five years dryed & glued down in a book upon opening of wch it will now immediately affect the nose, which I know no other plant in it will do but one sort of trefoil which is from thence call'd lotus ordorata. This sort of Jerusalem Oak herb is us'd for Shortness of breath in severall places.

The unknown root you mention I cannot tell what to make of,

It has a bitterish tast & is somewhat aromatic like Costus, but wanting it's leaves fruit and flower, I cannot tell you what it is or if it grow anywhere else. When you send any other herbs pray send their leaves and flowers dryed between papers and their seeds that they may be known & raised here.

As to the mineralls you mention there are such varietys that 'tis next to Impossible to send you over the severall sorts, tis much easier to you to send over what you want to be informed of in which Case you shall receive the best Satisfaction I can give you. I am glad you are in health, I wish you may continue and advise you to what I practice my self never to take Physick when I am well & not to make use of any Medicines but such as are very well tryed when I am ill observation and experience being the best way to find out the virtues of plants I should be glad to have any opportunity to shew you that I am

Yor most obedt. & most faithfull
Servt.

Hans Sloane

Addressed To/William Byrd Esq/in/Virginia.
Endorsed Dec. 7, 1709.

Sloane 4042, f. 143.

Virginia the 10th of June 1710.

Sir

I had the favour of your kind letter of the 7th of December last, and by that have been incourag'd to search more narrowly for Ipecoacanna. There is a tolerable Quantity at a great distance up the Country which upon good Incouragement I woud be at some trouble to get. I sent about 30 pounds of it last year: but it was stoppt at the custom house, where twas rated at fourty Shillings ℔ pound, and they expected custome according to that value. But I have nothing since about it. I have now sent you in a Box about [ ] pounds of it part of which I have caus'd to be cut into bits, as the apothecarys sell it, and the rest is in the pure root pickt clean from dirt & trash. Now I woud beg the favour of you to dispose of this for me after the best manner

you can, and send me word whether it sells best whole in the root, ore else cut into pieces. It is a great deal of trouble to cut it: but the convenience is, that a great deal go's into a small compass and so saves in the freight. If it be necessary to pay Custume I must Submit: but hope you'll have Interest enough to get it custome free. I hope youll forgive me for makeing a merchant of you; but for your trouble am willing to allow the merchant Rate of 2½ ℔ cent upon the neat proceed. If you can make a good hand of it, I will engage to send you a great Quantity. I send this only for a Tryal, to be informd whether it will be worth while to send more. If you dont care to be troubled with such commissions for the future, let me know it: only I beg your best advice in the management of this affair, and that by the first convenience.

This comes by a Running Ship: but by our Fleet I will endeavour to send you some Raritys. I wish youd please to give yourself the trouble to let me know how the Royal Society thrives, and to assure 'em that I shall be always ready to do em what Service I can in this Country. There is a noble feild for a man of Skill in the works of nature, and tis pity we had not a man of tast and qualification that made it his business to make discoverys that way. I beg of you to send me your account of Jamaica, and if there be any other good voyage publisht since I left England, or any other curious piece, to send it me, and pay yourself out of the profits of the Cargo. I wish you all happiness, & that you may live long for the good of mankind. I am

Sir

Your most faithfull humble Servt.

W. Byrd.

I have sent the Box by Capt. Posford commander of the Ship Harrison from Virginia. Inquire at Mr. Micajah Perry's In Leadenhall Street for the Ship.

Sloane 4055, fo. 112.

Virginia the 31st of May 1737.

Sr.

Altho' I have not persecuted you with any of my Letters since my Return to my own Country, yet I have silently enjoyd the pleasure of hearing you are well, and glideing on cheerfully and happily towards the age of old Jenkins. How widely was you mistaken in Your own case, when you prophesyd above Twenty years ago, that the then approaching Spring would send you to Elysium, to converse with your great master Hypocrites? But 'tis no new thing for the best Physicians, to judge better of Other Peoples constitutions than their own. Tho after all, who knows but kind Providence may have extended Your Life in pure Pity to Mankind?

My Friend Mr. Catesby tells me you don't believe the Ginseng that grows on our Mountains, to be the same with that of Tartary. I know not what Species of it you may have met with from thence, but I can assure you by my own Experience, 'tis exactly the same with that describd by Father Jartoux. The whole Plant is in every Respect so like it that his Icon of it, as well as Descripsion, represents ours as perfectly as it can do that. And as for the Vertues too, I find them the same that he mentions. Insomuch that were I to judge of the veracity of the Jesuits by this Instance, I shou'd pronounce them very honest Fellows. As for the merry Effects ascribd to it towards obliging the Bashfull Sex, the good Father says nothing of it, nor dos my Experience reach so far. And man is so depravd, that in case this noble Vegetable had any such vertue, I'm affraid a very bad use would be made of it.

Another very usefull Plant has lately been discoverd in this Country, which has been found of great Efficacy towards cureing some of our most fatal Distempers. The Gentleman who waits upon You with my Complements, Mr. Tennent, has made many successful Tryals of One Species of Our Rattlesnake Root. He has found it almost a Specifick in Pleurisys, which are the most fatal of all Deseases in this Clymate amongst the Negros & Poor Peoples. He affirms that amidst a multitude of Cases, it never faild him more than once, and then there was good Reason for it.

The same has also done wonders in the Gout and Dropsy, and probably might cure the Bite of a Mad Dog, as well as other Poisons.

My Freind carrys over a large Quantity of this Root, that so various Experiments may be made of it. He judges very right, Sr, that nobody is capable of searching deeper into its Vertues than Your Self. We owe the knowledge of this powerfull Vegetable to that Gentlemans discovery. He has acted generously in publishing it to the World for the service of mankind, and if upon Tryal it be found to merit the character he gives of it, Our Assembly will reward Him very handsomely.

The Truth of it is, Our Woods abound with so many very usefull Plants, that woud you do as much good after you are dead, as you do while you are alive, You must improve the Scheme of Dr. Radcliff, and bequeath in Your Will an Exhibition for one or more Plantery Physicians, whose Travels shoud be confind to this Part of the World only, where Nature seems to be more in her youth, and to come later and fresher out of her Creators hands.

I need the less Apology for the Fredome of this Hint, because I am well acquainted with your Humanity, which is ever seeking occasions of bestowing the Blessings of Heaven to the best advantage; and I am perswaded no kind of Charity (not even the erecting a Hospital for Foundling Children) woud do half so much good, as what I now throw in the way of your Generosity.

Ever since I came back to my own Country, I have employd my Endeavours in Some Scheme or other for its improvement. I first went upon Hemp, beleiving it a great Service to England, to be supplyd by its own Plantations, with that usefull commodity. It thrives very well in this Clymate, but Labour being much dearer than in Muscovy, as well as the Freight, we can make no Earnings of it. Then I went upon Vinyards, but our Seasons are so uncertain, and our Insects so numerous, that it will be difficult to Succeed. At present I am going to Settle a Colony of Switzers near the Mountains of Roanoke, who are to try what they can do with Vines that way, as well as with Silk, and Potash. Thus I am too full of Projects to be very rich, but if I can benefit my

Country, and make it usefull to Great Britain, it will be a greater Satisfaction by much to

Sr. Your most obedient humble Servant
W. Byrd

Endorsed Coln. Byrd to Sr. H. S./Nov. 3, 1737
Enter'd in L. B.

Sloane 4055, fo. 367.

Virginia the 20th of August 1737.

Sir

I had the pleasure of understanding you was well under your own hand, upon which I congratulate all your Patients. I fancy you have been nibbling of Ginseng ever since you receivd that Box from my good Lord Pembroke, by the Vertue of which you have mended all the Flaws which Jamaica had made in your constitution. I believe ever since the Tree of Life has been so strongly guarded the Earth has never produced any vegetable so friendly to man as Ginseng. Nor do I say this at Random, or by the Strength of my Faith, but by my own Experience. I have found it very cordial and reviving after great Fatigue, it warms the Blood frisks the Spirits strengthens the Stomach and comforts the Bowels exceedingly. All this it performs without any of those naughty Effects that might make men too troublesome and impertinent to their poor Wives.

Then as for the Rattlesnake Root the Reputation of it encreases every day. The Tincture of it has done Wonders in the Gout. I know a Gentleman here who had been a Cripple several years with that Distemper and by taking a small spoonfull of the Tincture in a moderate glass of Water morning and Evening, has recoverd his Legs and can now walk 4 or 5 miles. His Fits return seldomer and more favourable than formerly. Whenever he falls under the Anguish of a Fit, one Dose gives him Ease in a short time. By its purging, its deuretick, and diaphoretick Quality it is of great use in the Dropsy, and has recoverd several from that fatal Distemper.

The Powder or Decoction of this Root, will operate either by Purge Vomit or Sweat according to the present Disposition of

the Person who takes it. It is of great Efficacy in Pleuretick Feaver, which being some of the worst, 'tis probable twill easily master those which are less violent. According to that way of reasoning, it has been tryed in Intermitting Feavers with Success, and I am not without hopes, that it will disgrace the Peruvian Bark, and put the Jesuit quite out of countenance. It is a Specifick against worms, taken in the Decoction which makes it very valuable in this Country, where most of the children that dye, and most of the Negros, dye of Worms. In short it is so powerfull a Medicen in many of those Deseases that unpeople the World that I hope to See it planted in this Colony as much as Tobacco.

I hope the Person, I took the Liberty to recommend to you last year, furnisht you with a Quantity of this noble vegetable sufficient for many Experiments, as he promised me he would. Amongs't the rest I wish it coud fairly be tryd for the Bite of a mad Dog, for which it may perhaps be as Sure a Remedy; as for the Bite of a Rattlesnake. I shoud be glad to be satisfyd in that Point, and likewise what Success it may have in that British Plague the Small Pox. That Desease is not common here, but it has raged lately very much in Barbados, and South Carolina. In the last of these Places they pretend to have found out a certain Preservative against it. They drink every morning a Draught of Water that has stood 2 days upon Tar, after doing this 3 or 4 times they are so safe that even Inoculation will not give them the Distemper. The Experiment may be easily made with you, and I shoud be glad to hear its Success. Thus you see Sr that the distance of 4000 miles is not sufficient to secure you from the Persecution of

Your most obedient Humble Servant
W Byrd

I wish I were better acquainted with Jamaica, and shoud be glad of your History.

Sloane 4057, f. 20.

Virginia the 10th of April 1741.

Sir

I receivd your Commands by Dr. Mollet with a great deal of Pleasure, and your Recommendation was a Law to me to do all the Service I coud to that Gentleman. I did every thing to advance his Interest, except being Sick, and if you had desird that, I might perhaps have done my best to oblige an old Friend. However all the Civilitys we coud Shew Him, coud not keep him amongst us, our Clymate was too cold, and his Constitution too delicate, or else too lazy, to ride much about, without which there are no great Earnings to be made for one of the Faculty in this thin inhabited Country. About a month ago he took his Departure for Jamaica, where he hopes to get more money with less Trouble.

You will easily believe I askt the Doctor abundance of Questians about you, and was not a little delighted to hear, that you had outlivd all your Complaints, as well as your Cotemporarys. Apollo instructed you better in Physick than he did in Prophesy, for I remember about Forty years ago, you told us several years together, you shoud not out live the following Spring. I am glad for the sake of mankind that you was mistaken, tho' it was strange, that at the same time you coud give so Shrewd a guess at the Fate of your Patients, you Shoud err so widely about your own, and be half a century out in your Prognosticks.

I am sorry our Plant of Life, our Ginseng, shoud loose all its vertue by passing the Sea, as well as our Rattle-snake Root. Perhaps some mighty Feats may be expected from these noble Plants, for which Providence never intended them, such as King Charles the 2d fondly promised Himself from the Cordial Quality of the Ginseng. What I recommend it for, is, to cheer the Animal Spirits, and feed the Flame of Life, which I am convinct it will do if regularly taken. And then for the Rattle-snake Root I can upon my own Experience recommend it for the Pleurisy, the Rheumatism, and easing of Pain in any part that proceeds from Inflamation. Others have told me of strange Effects it has in a Dropsey and for killing of Worms. The misfortune is, when a

Plant has some remarkable Vertues, People are apt to cry it up for a universall Remedy, which is an honour Providence has done to no single medicine, because it woud make us lazy in our Searches into Nature. I am perswaded we have abundance of Excellent Simples in this Country, and perhaps a man coud not do a greater good to mankind, than to bestowe a handsome Stipend yearly upon a well qualifyed Naturallist, to come and make Discoverys in these Parts of the World. A word to the Wise is enough, and Some times more to the Purpose than a Volume.

I take it a little unkindly Sir that my name is left out of the yearly list of the Roial Society, of which I have the honour to be one of its ancientest members. I suppose my long absence has made your Secretarys rank me in the Number of the Dead, but pray let them know I am alive, and by the help of Ginseng hope to survive some years longer.

I have a Son that is entering upon natural Philosophy, and I shoud be obligd to you, if you woud be so good as to send me one of the Reflecting Telescopes, a very good Barometer and Thermometer, With an Air Pump Fountain. And if you will please to order them to be carefully packt up for a voyage, and carryd to Mr. John Hanbury one of our Merchants, he will pay for them, and convey them Safe to

Sir, The most obedient of your Servants

W Byrd.

Pray send me your History of Jamaica.

CHARLES C. JOHNSTON TO JOHN B. FLOYD.

Contributed by Hon. R. M. Hughes.[1]

Washington Dec 16th, 1831

My Dear Sir

Your letter of the 22nd ult has just this morning come to my hands. I should before this have informed you of the progress of your Pattonsburg suit; but really no progress has yet been made in it. After leaving Richmond I stayed in Lynchburg some days in the hope of having the cause taken up, argued and disposed of; indeed I supposed I had made an arrangement which would ensure an immediate trial, for Mr. Anthony as counsel for the defendts appointed a day certain for the trial of the case. When however the day came on which I waited nearly a week, Mr. Anthony discovered that he was not counsel in the case and not authorized to take it up. This threw me all aback; for as the defendts had no counsel in Court, the Judge could not and would not agree to take up the cause before its regular turn on the Docket. It was impossible that I should wait for that turn and I therefore concerted with Mr. Baxter the proper measures for the disposal of the cause. On looking over the papers I found that Mr. Baxter had prepared an excellent argument in writing wihch he had filed. I thought it perfectly safe to submit the cause to the Judge with this argument after some additions had been made to it by Mr. Baxter on my suggestion. Mr. Johnson had once obtain'd a decree but Sheffey succeeded in setting it aside and placing the

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[1]Charles C. Johnston was the son of Judge Peter Johnston and Mary Wood, daughter of Lucy Henry, a sister of Patrick Henry. He was elected a member of the twenty-second Congress, and served from Dec. 5, 1831, to June 17, 1832, on which date he was accidentally drowned in the Potomac River. He married Eliza M. Preston, daughter of John Preston. The letter is to John B. Floyd, then only 24 years old, afterwards governor of Virginia. His wife was Sally B. Preston, daughter of Francis Preston, and first cousin to Mrs. Charles C. Johnston.

case on its original attitude: I was clear however that the plts. must succeed on the hearing. The only question of much difficulty is the *amount* of relief to which the plts are entitled.

I saw Mr. Baxter on my way here and ascertained from him that the Judge had taken the papers and had decided on giving a decree; feeling some difficulty however as to the precise measure of relief the Judge had retained the papers and would enter a decree during the winter.

We are certain of procuring relief as far as the property now in the hands of Boyd's heirs will go and our decree will be immediately enforced as to them; if the Judge gives us a decree against the purchasers of the Pattonsburg lots (which I think he can hardly refuse) then so far as those purchasers are concerned, delay must happen, for they have never yet been made parties in this case, and they must be made parties before any thing can be forced from them.

Since the date of your letter, the aspect of affairs has no doubt changed much in Richmond, and if you can spare time from your dalliance with your charming law books—and your charming wife—I should be glad to know the exact attitude as it regards, to use your fathers phrase, "our federal relations", at Richmond.

I am too fresh in this latitude to have rectified myself precisely to my position; and my speculations must be received as from one who as yet but sees through a glass darkly. I can see enough however of what is going on here to feel the utmost anxiety for what must very shortly happen. In order to explain I must go back a little and begin with the beginning.

Every one who has looked at public affairs understandingly perceived before the meeting of Congress, that this session of that body, would form a crisis in which the political destiny of this Government would be determined, either for evil, or for good, for years to come. You and I and all the men of the South who are not "Bastards" have either denounced the opinions of the President and his Cabinet on the all absorbing question of the Tariff as you and most of your friends have done; or doubted as I and mine have done. The present state of things is by no means cal-

culated to remove my doubts whilst there is certainly nothing as yet justifying a denunciation of the President. His message is a clear, able state paper, was well received, and added much to the hopes of our party. That part of it which related to the Tariff seems to be (although a little too oracular) favorable to our side of the question. We were still more encouraged by the palpable shape in which the Tariff and the American system is presented to the community by the present state of our Treasury. The fact that our debt is paid, for the duties which have accrued during the present year added to the Government Bank Stock are sufficient to pay it; will at once be understood by the people. This is a clearing of the mystery, in the fog of which one half of the people who have blindly assented to the American System, have been lost; and will conduce much to put an end to the System itself.

The people have already profited by the lights that the frequent discussion of the System has of late struck out; public sentiment is already beginning to act. As an evidence of this assertion it is admitted that there are many more opponents in Congress to the System from the Northern States than there were during the last Congress.

We took what may in some sort be called a test vote the other day on Mercer's resolution to appoint a standing committee of Internal Improvements: it was made a test question by Mercer himself who challenged a test vote upon it and the vote of 96 for to 90 against has been most alarming to System men. The vote will change in some degree on the tariff and many think the change will be in our favor as there are several Internal Improvement men who are decidedly anti-tariff. All this might seem encouraging enough but it is not to be trusted.

The Treasury Report or as it is more properly called the Treasury Message has well nigh thrown us all aback. It is the most federal message which has been issued since the days of the Elder Adams, far exceeding even Hamilton himself. It recommended amongst the crude speculations with which the Secretary has "started from his sphere" the rechartering the Bank of the United States and a *compromise* of the American System and what a compromise! It recommends reducing the duties on

all those articles of luxury which are of general consumption in the States and throwing the *whole burden of taxation* on the favored articles of protection: thus throwing the whole weight of taxation on the South. This is taken up at once by the System mongers and called a compromise and they seem to hope that the name will go down with us. The opinions of the President and his party proper (I mean those who are Jackson men, and who go for the man the whole man, and nothing but the man) are yet in doubt. It is known here that the President is still opposed to rechartering the U. S. Bank; but yet, although he turned out his last Cabinet because it was not an unit he has suffered his new secretary of the Treasury to press strongly for the rechartering and assume the constitutionality of this measure. The doubt then is whether the President does not even assent to the modification of the duties proposed by the Secretary: he has in conversation said, for I heard him say so that "this matter must be compromised" and the doubt is whether he did not mean I will not say the delusive compromise but I will say the most nefarious trick of the Secretary. I still hope much from the honesty of the President: I hope much too from the circumstance that Clay is in the Senate with new hopes; elate and courageous as he is from his recent nomination he will set up his flag for the System and he and Webster will press in favor of McLean's proposition. The force of these circumstances will do much for us in compelling the Jackson men on some point of difference with the Clay party and may in the end go far in pressing the old Genl. into his proper place into the arms of the South. If things should go wrong there is but one remedy and that is to be had in the early and prompt action of the States *particularly of Virginia* while the matter is pending and undecided here. The Tariff party have not the least idea of disunion the partnership is too profitable to them to break it up; they know too that they are in the wrong in this matter but they believe that the South has not clearly found it out or that they can by dexterity or by trickery yet gain instead of giving up. As soon as they perceive that the South is determined now that the debt is paid no longer to submit to the system they will

give it up, making the best terms they can, exacting from us just precisely as much as we will yield.

The three Southern messages from Georgia, Virginia and Carolina have already had much effect here on these questions. I for one thank your father most heartily for his for I am well nigh satisfied that the Southern Reprs. without their state Governments will be beaten and that with them we might gain the victory. The question here will be battled long; as soon as the result seems probably against us or doubtful the States and particularly Virginia should act promptly and forcibly; telling this Government in distinct terms what may be expected from a continuance of the System. Virginia should have her gun loaded with powder (so that if necessary the ball may be run down in a moment) and a match lighted so that she may fire in an instant. To speak more distinctly the party in the Legislature who are willing to run the risk of sacrificing themselves to save the country ought to have measures ready so that they may interpose at a moment and throw the weight of our State Government into our scale. If this is properly done the Country is safe. The interposition of Virginia at such a crisis with all her strength would weigh with vastly accumulated power from her apparent acquiescence for the last four years and her patience under her grievances.

I have written this very hastily without the slightest attention to the words I have put down—I believe there is much truth in the thoughts. I have them hastily thrown together.

If you choose you may show it to your father at a leisure moment. He will look only at the thoughts and not the words; if he thinks they are worth any thing he may make some use of them if not they will be rejected—my letter is too hastily written to show it to any one else.

The committee of manufacture (Adams Chairman) met the other day and according to John S. Barbour one of its members determined by a vote of 6 to one not to adopt McLean's recommendation but to report a reduction of the duties on every thing alike—I dont believe it to be true.

It is now past midnight so I will end this scrawl with most affectionate salutations to you all.

Yr friend and relation

Charles C. Johnston

I have heard nothing from Wats since I left Richmond.

Frm
Chs. C. Johnston

John B. Floyd, Esq
Richmond, Va.
Mail

REVOLUTIONARY MANUFACTURES.

Contributed by Clayton Torrence.

To the Honorable the Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Delegates

The Petition of Alex. Hanewinkel

Humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioner being regularly bred by the Trustees for improving Manufactures in Great Britain, in the making of Heckles, Wool Combs, Tin Wool & Cotton Cards, Wire making, &c and perfectly well acquainted with the dressing of Flax and Hemp; has attempted to prosecute these branches, but by reason of his want of stock, and the excessive high wages of Workmen in erecting the Machinery & utencils &c will be obliged to lay aside his designs or at least carry it on in such a small way, as will be but of very little use to the publick in general and entirely frustrate his first intention of rendering himself a useful member at a time when so much wanted.

Your Petitioner also begs leave to inform your Honble House that he has in conjunction with John Atkinson, of the Town of Fredericksburg, erected a Hemp Mill, and Hecklery, which will undoubtedly reduce the exorbitant prices of linen in this part of the Country. But such a work will oblige your Petitioner and Partner to employ a number of spinners, Weavers and Ropemakers to expend such of the material as are unsaleable. Your Petitioner being sensible that this Honourable House gives every encouragement to such as are most conducive to the publick good on this consideration, begs leave to mention that he is the person who has the conducting of the Slitting Mill and the sole direction of the Steel furnace of Mr. Hunter's works.[1]

The sum of this humble petition is, that you will grant him such assistance as in your Judgments will be adequate to carry

[1]See 9 Hening, 303, Act for encouragement of iron works, granting help to James Hunter.

on his designs, for which advancement he is ready to give indisputable security (if required) either to be paid in certain proportions of the sum advanced him, annually, in any of the articles he purposes manufactoring, particularly linen Cloth for the use of the Army and Navy or in Money as your Honors would Chuse.

and Your Petitioner as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c

Endorsed:

Petition Alexander Hanewinkel
Refd. to propns.
Nov. 5th Reported
3d (Rejected) Resolution

Memorial

To accompany the Petition of Alexander Hanewinkel referd to the Committee of Propositions and Grievances.

That it is impossible to make out an exact estimation of the neat cost of his intended Works, and Stock of Material, but thinks as nigh as he can judge that it would require the sum of Five Hundred Pounds at least to render it of public utility. Nevertheless according to the Sum the Honble the Committee shall think proper to advance him the undertaking shall be enlarged or contracted.

A. Hanewinckel

THOMAS McCLANAHAN.

Contributed by T. ADGER STEWART.

State of Kentucky } s.s.
Simpson County. }

On the tenth day of September, eighteen hundred and thirty-two personally appeared in open court before the county court of said county now sitting, *Thomas McClanahan,* a resident citizen of the county of Simpson and State of Kentucky, age about eighty (80) years, who being first duly sworn according to law, doth, under his oath, make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the Act of Congress passed June 7th, 1832:—

That he entered the service of the United States under the following named officers and served as herein stated, viz.:—*That he was born,* according to the history of his family, in the county of *Westmoreland,* Va., but principally raised in the counties of *Fauquier* and *Culpeper* and that in the latter part of the summer or the *first of the fall of the year* 1775 *he entered* into the service of the United States in a *regiment first commanded* by *Colonel Patrick Henry,* Lieut. Colonel Christy, and attached to a Company commanded by Capt. John Green, Richard Taylor, 1st. Lieut., John Houston, 2nd Lieut., and John Lee, ensign.

The rendezvous was at Culpeper Court House; from there he was marched to Williamsburg and was occasionally in some little skirmishes with some British stopping at Burrell's Ferry and Old Jamestown, and while yet detained at Jamestown, *Col. Patrick Henry left the regiment* and entered into the Legislature of Virginia, or filled some other civil post, and the command of the regiment devolved on some other officer not now remembered.

About nine months after he was first marched to Williamsburg, *the second Virginia* regiment commanded by Col. Alexander Spottswood was brought down to Williamsburg also and the said McClanahan was by the consent of the said Richard Taylor—then the Captain of the Company—(The said John Green having

been promoted to the office of Major) transferred to the second regiment and enrolled in a Company in the same, commanded by Capt. Francis Taylor and took the place of a soldier by the name of Rueben McKinney and the said McKinney took said McClanahan's place in the said regiment of the said Company commanded by the said Capt. Richard Taylor.

The said company was not long after marched somewhere to the north tent; the second to which he now belonged continued at Williamsburg until late in the fall of 1776; then the said McClanahan was marched with said regiment from Williamsburg to Fredericksburg, where they remained but a short time; from thence they were marched through Alexandria to Baltimore, from there they took shipping and went to Annapolis, according to the best recollection, in pursuit, as it was then said, of tories who were said to have been embodied on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, but found no tories.

They were then marched to New Castle on the Delaware River, said to be about five miles from Wilmington, where the regiment was innoculated with the small pox, and remained until the spring of 1777, when it was again marched to Philadelphia, and there, for the first time, furnished with clothing at the public expense. While there he was one of the guards to a man whose name was probably Dunbar who was hung in the suburbs of the city for some traitorous crime not now recollected.

From Philadelphia the regiment was marched through a little town called Bristow or Bristol on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River opposite (If not mis-remembered) Burlington; thence across the river to Trentown on the Jersey shore; thence to Princetown. This place the regiment reached not long after a battle had been fought there between the American and British in which it was that General Mercer fell. After remaining here a while they were marched to Bondbrook on the Raretown River, which was quite in the vicinity of the British Army then posted at Brunswick and Amboy, and here the regiment remained but a few days ere it was marched to a place called Middle Brook, at which the main army, commanded by General Washington, was

then encamped. This was in the latter part of the spring or the first part of the summer of 1777.

While said McClanahan was here there were several small engagements between scouting parties of the British and Americans; some of them he was in and some he was not. In one of them there was Ensign White and perhaps twenty men attacked in a rye field by a party of British light horse and all, or nearly all, were cut to pieces together with the said officer. He was in a small fight himself in which one of the British Guard Houses was taken, a Major killed and 13 or 14 men, and the balance taken prisoners. It was here that Gen. Morgan rendered such effective service when the British retreated with their forces to Brunswick and Amboy killed a great many of them on their march. Here McClanahan was one of a file of 12 men who shot a deserter condemned by a court martial.

It was not long after the British retreated to Brunswick and Amboy that General Washington marched the army to the Head of the Elk, but not as he knows, for a few days before the army moved he was taken with what was then called the "camp fever," which produced delirium on him for some days. When he came to he was informed by a soldier in whose care he had been left that the army had marched as above stated. It was some time before he got to Philadelphia from there as the British entered Philadelphia he, together with the other sick that were in said City was taken to Burlington. Here having obtained his health, he was tried by a court martial for bayoneting a commissary who attempted to rescue a butcher, whom he, McClanahan, together with another had arrested by order of Capt. William Washington, who afterwards commanded a troop of horse in the South, for abusive and insolent language to the said Capt. Washington, and he was honorably acquitted and the said commissary, as he understood, was discharged from the service.

From Burlington he then went to the main army which was then stationed at what was then called the Cross Roads or Chestnut Hill. At this place a short time he relapsed into the said fever; from that time he lost his recollection until he found himself in East-town in New Jersey; from this, having gotten his health.

he went to the main army again, stationed at Valley Forge, and his second enlistment being now nearly expired, *he, about the first of the year* 1778, enlisted in a company of Horse commanded by (he thinks) *Capt. William Barrett,* who belonged to *Col. Baylor's* regiment *for three years, or during the war.* One of the conditions of this enlistment was that he was to get a furlough for three months and twenty dollars ($20) to bear his expenses home. This, together with the furlough, was accordingly given him with orders to rendevous again in Fredericksburg, Va., on the 10*th of April* 1778.

Accordingly he met the said Capt. Barrett in Fredericksburg, and there got the said Capt. Barrett *to receive one John Green, whose sister he had meantime married in Culpeper County, Virginia,* in his (said McClanahan's) place and got from said officer a full discharge, which discharge was lost in the burning of his father's (*William McClanahan*) house in Culpeper some few years after.

Here ended his revolutionary war services except a short tour of militia duty performed afterwards in *North Carolina* when Gen. Greene was retreating into Virginia from Cornwalis, under *Capt. James Ward* in a regiment commanded by *Col. Preston,* and he went into the service from *Bottleton* [*Botetourt*] *County, Virginia,* where he then lived. He was in two skirmishes with British on this tour; one at the Altemanha River and the other at the Rudy Fork of the Haw River.

His first enlistment in the regiment commanded as aforesaid by *Col. Henry* was for *twelve months,* the next one he entered the *second Virginia regiment commanded by Col. Spottswood* as aforesaid was *for two years,* and that in *said Baylor's regiment for three years* or during the war. In conformity *with all* of which he served about *three years. From said Bottleton* [*Botetourt*] *County* he moved to *Montgomery County, from there to Kentucky in* 1778 [?] and settled in what is now *called Borbourn County,* and shared largely in the Indian Wars, which then and for some time after, was carried on in the west. He was in the *battle at Harmers* in the *defeat* at the *Maumee Town, belonging to the immediate command of Capt. David Tharp,* who, together

with every man in his Company was killed in the engagement, except the said McClanahan with seven or eight others.

He was a spy in the expedition of *General Whayne* under the immediate command of *Gen. Chas. Scott* from *Kentucky in* 1793. From *Borbourn* he *moved* to *Logan County, Kentucky,* and settled in that part which since constitutes a part of the *said Simpson County,* about *the year* 1803 and in that part he has lived ever since.

He has now little or no property, a wife and seven children living with him, having had in all twenty (20) children, and as much as any man needs a pension. He relinquishes hereby every claim whatever to a pension or annuity except the present and declares that his name is not on the pension roll of any state whatever.

Subscribed and sworn to before me the date aforesaid and year aforesaid.

(Signed) Thomas McClanahan[1]

---

[1]Thomas McClanahan died Oct. 15, 1845. Buried in Simpson Co., Ky. He married Tabitha Williams March 1, 1817. She was allowed a pension July 19, 1853, while a resident of Simpson Co., Ky. Widow file No. 1052, Revolutionary War. Children by first marriage: Smith, John, Nancy, Lucy, Jane, Elizabeth, Martha, perhaps others. Children by second marriage: Hulda, Arden, Thomas, Henrietta, Mary, Tabitha, perhaps others. In the will of William Jones (Bourbon Co., Ky., will book E, page 85) reference is made "to 100 acres of land which is in law for which I have attained judgment in the circuit court of Bourbon County, it being a part of a claim of 500 acres patented by William McClanahan and deeded by his son, Thomas McClanahan to me." The Thomas McClanahan mentioned in this will is the Thomas McClanahan whose deposition is printed herewith.

REBECCA DINWIDDIE, WIFE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

From Dawson MSS. Library of Congress.

London 15 Nov. 1758

Dear Madam.[1]

the reason I did not write you when I wrote the other Ladies was that it would be better not to write all at once & if you are as glad to hear from me as I shall from you or any of my acquaintance tho at such a distance, you would not take it a miss, some was so kind to write before I had writ them: as for the commissary Mr. Dinwiddie has never had a line from him tho he has sent him several Letters: it is now time to enquire after your health & all your children which I do assure you will give me pleasure to hear they are all well & settled to your likeing & Mrs. Harrison is well recovered from her lying: tho by the time you gett this she may be in the way again, if so I sincerely wish her health & every thing she can desire & all them: when I see Lady Gouch she told me you was not to pay any more for the negroe after the two first years I suppose she has wrote you for she has your Letter that I brought: you'l Please to give my kind compliments to all that askes after me. Mr. Dinwiddie Joins me Lisse & [?] in the same to you & miss you'l excuse all bad Letters I cant coppy them I hope to hear from you soon: Please send the enclosed to your Sister Daingfield[?] my compliments to Mrs. Clayton. 7 Decemr [?]

from your most humble servant
&c
Rebecca Dinwiddie

[1]Wife of Rev Thomas Dawson, president of the college, and commissary.

CATHER FAMILY.

Can any of your readers refer me to any early Virginia, or Maryland records of the Cather family? In 1776 one branch was living in what is now Pennsylvania (in that portion which was then claimed by Virginia) under circumstances which indicated Colonial Virginia descent—probably Augusta County. Any information available will be highly appreciated.

William Buckner McGroarty.

Falls Church, Va.

HILL FAMILY.

Can any one furnish the names of the parents of William Hill of Amelia Co., Virginia, born between 1707 and 1727 and whose will was dated Dec. 15, 1770, in Amelia Co., and probated 1774 in Prince Edward Co., Va. Also the parents of his wife, Martha, who was supposed to be named Davis.

They had a son, William Hill, who married first, Rhoda, supposed to be Watkins, and had six children, viz.: 1 Endocia, m. John Thurmond; 2 Mary, m. Joel Watkins; 3 Rhoda, m. Richmond Statham; 4 Samuel Davis, m. Agnes Mathews; 5 Johanna; 6 Martha. William m. 2ndly, Betsy ———, and had one daughter, Elizabeth who m. Clement Davis.

Mary B. Statham.

20 Third St., S. E., Washington, D. C.

LARUE FAMILY.

I wish information in regard to the Larue family. Isaac Larue was born in 1766 in Frederick Co., Va. He married a Miss Hughes of Pennsylvania, and lived near St. Marys, in what is now West Virginia. His children were Hannah, Union, Diana, Aaron, Annie, William and Sallie. His brothers and sisters were Abraham, Jacob, Lambert, Abigail, May Marie. I have a letter from William Larue to Aaron Larue dated Tyler Co., Va., Aug. 3, 1837.

Wanted—Information as to parents of Isaac Larue and his descendants.

H. A. LARUE,
President First Natl. Bank.

Columbus, Kansas.

BOOKER, WELDON, PITTS, ANDERSON, POWELL.

1. Genealogy desired of John Eaton Booker (familiarly known as "Rattling" John Booker) and his wife Elizabeth ("Betsy") Ford of Amelia Co., Va. John E. Booker was captain of a company of Lafayette's scouts. (Official proof desired.) He trained his horse to lie down at command to evade the enemy when on scouting expeditions. He was at the surrender at Yorktown.

In the Va. State Library List of Rev. Soldiers appears: "Booker—(Capt.) (11 V. R.) W. D. 222, 1." Is there any possible way of identifying this Captain Booker? Did the 11th Virginia Regiment serve under Lafayette?

John E. Booker had brothers, Shields Booker and Pinkethman Davis Booker, and a sister, Martha, who married William Wade, of South Carolina, and probably other brothers and sisters. Pinkethman and Shields have been handed down as given names in this branch of the Booker family to the present time.

In *William and Mary Quarterly,* Vol. 6, No. 2, the York Co. records show that James Shields married in 1719 Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Cobbs and Rebecca Pinkethman. Did James Shields have a daughter that married a Booker? She would have been the proper age for the mother of John E., Pinkethman D. and Shields Booker.

2. Edith Pitts married ——— Weldon, their daughter, Mary Weldon married ——— Anderson and their daughter, Ann Pauline Anderson, married William Powell, of the region of Powhatan or Amelia Co., Va. Proof of William Powell's service in the Rev. as Colonel of Militia desired. Information concerning any of the above families would be greatly appreciated. Correspondence with descendants desired.

MISS ADDIE L. BOOKER.

Malta Bend, Mo.

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EDITORS

J. A. C. CHANDLER,
President William and Mary College

E. G. SWEM,
Librarian William and Mary College

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William and Mary College
Quarterly Historical Magazine

Vol. 1. Second Series OCTOBER, 1921 No. 4.

THE VIRGINIA INDIAN TRADE TO 1673.[1]

By A. J. Morrison.

The continent of Europe was disturbed by wars in the year 1551. The sadder, the more solid or graver, merchants of London, not willing to be dashed in their business, took counsel together and asked the advice of Sebastian Cabot, eminent man of nautical science. The upshot was the formation of a company of Merchant Adventurers, chartered about the middle of December, 1551, with Sebastian Cabot as life governor. The good old gentleman, Master Cabot, of Venetian parentage and of large experience about the world, spend his last years to good result for England. He had in his youth been to America of the north, in his middle age he had wasted a few years in what we call the Argentine; relinquishing the office of chief pilot to Emperor Charles V of Spain and the New World, Master Cabot was in his old age the man of all others to show England how to go to sea. He said himself he had the knowledge of the art of finding longitude by divine revelation. Henry VIII, notwithstanding, had dealt harshly with him. Upon the death of King Henry he was brought back to England and virtually given charge of the maritime affairs of the nation. His art of finding longitude was thought worth subvention in those critical times, when the continent of Europe was upwrought and the Hansa League was over strong in English affairs.

[1]This essay is to serve by way of preface to a rather close investigation of the Southern Indian Trāde from 1673 to 1763. It has not been thought necessary to cite authority. Alvord and Bidgood, in their *Trans-Alleghany Explorations of the Virginians*, have covered the ground extremely well. The other sources are fairly obvious.

Master Cabot and his Company of Merchant Adventurers attempted a North East passage. Why, said they, accept the world as it seemed to be with regard to England then? They sent out three ships in 1553 to reach Cathay by the North East, and so discovered Russia, found that Muscovy could be come at direct by an open sea. Muscovy was a fur country. Here was a new market. The British trader was soon thereafter at home in Muscovy, and was pushing on to Persia and Central Asia. Anthony Jenkinson, who had been bred to the Levant trade, was chosen as their Russia agent by those merchants interested in the business of Muscovy. Diplomatist in Turkey and the Mediterranean, Anthony Jenkinson was diplomatist also in the Tszar's Dominions, and by 1560 had reached Bokhara. He still thought that a North East passage to China should be a practicable move; at Bokhara the values of the china trade must have been matter of routine speculation. Anthony Jenkinson and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, early in 1566, petitioned the crown for license to discover China by the North East. Such enterprise was about grown fashionable then, but it is not at all impossible that Anthony Jenkinson was the first to suggest such things to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who towards the end of 1566 petitioned for license of discovery by the Northwest as an alternative to his petition with Jenkinson. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was in Ireland in 1566, helping to settle a colony of Englishmen in Ulster, a colony soon unsettled. It was not until 1578 that Humphrey Gilbert, step brother to Walter Raleigh, received his patent to discover, find, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people. Sir Humphrey Gilbert went down in the *Squirrel,* near the shores of North America early in 1579. His patent was to expire in 1584, and it was then that his brother Walter Raleigh had it revived in his own name, March 25th, 1584. By July of that year Amadas and Barlow, of Raleigh's ships to Oregon Inlet, were writing their pleasant journal of life in Virginia where for a tin dish 10 skins could be had, and for a copper kettle 50.

The British eagle was mewing. Walter Raleigh, born a year after the chartering of the Cabot Company, was to see with his

own eyes an England changed from perplexity regarding its place in the world to audacity limitable only by the world itself. The English, to be sure, were following their noses a good deal during the life time of Sir Walter Raleigh, but they had good strong noses, excellent head pieces in general, and the idea once lodged with them that to save England they must go out into the world, they went out. The destinies of Ireland, India, and Virginia were strangely going on together around the year 1600. The venture towards India being at first wholly commercial it was Irish affairs that influenced especially Virginia. If Britons could be settled among the wild Irish, then why not still further overseas, despite of Raleigh's ill success? Talks to the Irish on the part of Queen Elizabeth's agents sound wonderfully like Georgian talks to the Cherokees or the Creeks. And it is not to be overlooked that Sir Walter Raleigh is credited with the education of the Irish in the item of potatoes—and of the English in that of tobaccos.

Raleigh looked West. He was not concerned with India. But quite naturally when the English companies came to be set up for India and for Virginia the directorates were interlocking somewhat—for example, John Eldred (venerable name) of "Nutmeg Hall," Sir Thomas Smythe (of the Muscovy and all the companies), Sir John Wolstenholme, backer of Hudson, Baffin, and others in their Northwest attempts. A full list of Directors, at once of the East India Company and of the Virginia Company, with elucidation as touching their careers, would make an interesting memorandum. These companies were planned for profit. The East India Company knew what to expect—187% at the least. The Virginia Company had little notion of what to expect. They knew that there were fur-bearing animals in North America. But promotion in their case was to be from settlement if possible to a market created by the Company settler. So when Captain Newport wrote home in 1607 of his voyage up James River towards the Mountains Quirauke, the Directors must have been pleased at his report—"we have excellent furrs, in some places of the country great store." And whatever the worth of the assertion, it was significant that John Rolfe could relate of Virginia about 1616, that the Indians were then coming in to buy corn of

the English, purchasing with skins or mortgaging their lands "they seek to sell their skins from their shoulders, which is their best garments, to buy corn; yea, some of their petty kings have this last year borrowed from us five hundred bushels of wheat, for payment whereof they have mortgaged their whole country." Here were the difficult questions arisen of deed and deed of trust among a people holding the land by tribe as it pleased them and as they could. Sir Walter Raleigh, in the Tower must have read such reports with a certain interest. He had had leisure in the Tower to look into world history, and knew the philosophy thereof sufficiently well. His life about ending in 1616, he doubtless felt convinced that there was to be a new world of Virginia without fail now that the red indwellers were beginning to be in pawn.

But the Indian Trade was a shifting business at best. Shortly after 1616, Governor Argall was promulgating a law that there should be "no trade nor familiarity with the perfidious savages, lest they discover our weakness?" Then in 1620 the company itself issued its enlarged schedule of furs—sables, luzernes, martens, wildcats, fox, muskrat, beaver—with high prices listed. In 1610 the Company's fur talk had been brief and commonsense—"bever skynnes being taken in winter tyme will yield good profitt; the like will otter skynnes." The Directors at home knew what the Dutch were doing at Manhattan, as did also the James River Virginians. The Directors looked for nothing comparable at Jacobopolis, but were willing to see the possibilities of the colony developed. Tobacco was a growing article. Should the price of tobacco fall very much, there might be something substantial in furs and skins. The historian Stith says something to show that the glass manufactory planned for Jamestown in 1621 was to give of its time to the making of beads for the Indian trade. The colonists were disregardful of the Argall rules and in 1621 were employing Indians, with guns, to hunt for them, to bring in to them game and no doubt the skins and furs the Company was advertising for. Then in 1622—Governor Argall was right, those Indians were not fancying deeds of trust—the great massacre checked enterprise somewhat and commercial penetration somewhat. Yet in 1624 there was a cargo of furs sent to Holland from Virginia.

That cargo probably came out of Chesapeake Bay. These items seem to show that under Company rule to 1624 there was neither public nor private organization of the Indian trade in the James River Country. It was a haphazard business at the first contact, springing largely from curiosity on both sides, and what trading was done went on up the James and to the north, in the Rappahannock and the Potomac and about Chesapeake Bay. For many years the English were seized with the dreads regarding the country south of James River.

Besides, the colonists about Jamestown were for some years upon a joint stock basis, not admitting of private enterprise, and for some years they were expecting to come upon mines of silver and gold, as of the territory and city of Raleigh. The governor, council and burgesses of the colony, writing about themselves to King Charles in 1628, said nothing of an Indian trade, but spoke cheerfully of mines—"we conceive that there is great hope of the ritchness of the Mountains, and there was a discovery made formerly nyneteen years since in the which some of us were, and about four days journey above the falls of James River as we are informed certain assurance of a silver mine." What were the prospectors meaning to say? Whether they themselves were there or not, it is interesting to hear their talk of the back country four days above the Falls. Curious minded colonists, Romany men, early became interested in the back country. In 1617 George White was pardoned, on the explanation of his running away to the Indians, and Henry Potter condemned to death for stealing a calf and running away to the Indians. In 1619 Captain Henry Spelman was examined by the Grand Assembly on charges preferred by Robert Poole, interpreter. Poole said he had met Captain Spelman at the Opechancanough's court, and that Spelman had talked to the Opechancanough unreverently and maliciously against the colony government, had alienated the mind of the Opechancanough. Captain Spelman, third son of the scholar Sir Henry Spelman, (member of Raleigh's London Society of Antiquaries), much to the displeasure of his friends had gone out to Virginia and there learned the native tongue thoroughly well. For intriguing with the Opechancanough, a mild and queer sentence

was imposed upon him—he must lose his title of Captain, and serve the Colony seven years in the nature of interpreter to the Governor. Henry Spelman apparently was soon rehabilitated.

In April, 1623, he was in command of a trading expedition up the Potomac to the Anacostan Indians, who had their quarters then about where the District of Columbia now is. Captain Spelman, "a warie man, well acquainted with their treacheries and the best linguist of the Indian tongue in the country," was by the account trading for corn. The Anacostans were too subtle for him. They professed friendship, and then suddenly turned and slew nineteen of the English, among them Henry Spelman. Henry Fleet and others were held captive. Governor Wyatt, reporting the disaster, said—"Indeed all trade with these Indians must be foreborne, and without doubt we must cleere them or they us out of the country." Matters went that way. The great massacre had been but the year before, and shortly after, Henry Fleet was conspicuous in the Indian trade of that Potomac region.

In 1623 Henry Fleet was about twenty-five years old. His father was William Fleet of the London Virginia Company. Henry Fleet seems to have come to Virginia not before 1623, and thus was introduced to the colony and to the Anacostan Naturalls in the same twelvemonth. He was kept in captivity (within the bounds of Fleet gaol, he may jocosely have put it) for four years, as long as might be, until 1627 when his friends contrived to ransom him. Henry Fleet was a man of skill. He applied himself during his Anacostan days to the study of his environment, and learned so much that on going home to England at the first opportunity he made it manifest to a firm of London merchants Clobery & Company that he could be of use to them in Virginia. William Clobery was a merchant adventurer. He was a chief man in the Guinea trade, and was open to suggestions for good trade anywhere. Apparently he sent Henry Fleet to Virginia well endorsed for promoting a Chesapeake Indian trade. At any rate September 6, 1627, the ship Paramour, London, 100 tons, was licensed to clear, Henry Fleet master, William Clobery & Company owners. William Clobery backed Dutch traders up the Hudson as well. The papers of his firm for twenty years to 1640 would much

elucidate the history of the American Indian trade. Sir John Wolstenholme was still living, active nearly to 1640. He set up William Claiborne as a trader up Chesapeake Bay. Henry Fleet, William Claiborne, Sir John Wolstenholme, Clobery & Company and the Baltimores were responsible for much Chesapeake Bay history before 1640, centering about a trading post at Kent Island.

Sir John Wolstenholme, who was practically disposed to the American idea, was encouraged to invest something through William Claiborne on Chesapeake Bay. Claiborne knew that region—had been authorized by government to explore there as early as 1627, and knew that the chance was best there for an Indian trade from the older Virginia. He was settling a post in the upper Bay at his Kent Island, when the Baltimore charter for Maryland was issued. He and Sir John Wolstenholme not to mention others, were greatly miffed at that charter. It is possible that Sir John Wolstenholme then withdrew from the Kent Island enterprise, and that Claiborne at once took up with a strictly commercial man, William Clobery no less. That was intricate business, which can hardly be traced at this distance. The Baltimore party, coming to their Maryland, touched at Virginia early in 1634. They saw Captain Claiborne, who in respect of Maryland (where was Maryland?) could not be pleased and talked dismally of what the Potomac and Bay Indians might and might not do. The Baltimore party passed up the Bay taking with them Captain Henry Fleet "excellent in language, lore and experience with the Indians." Captain Fleet was interpreter and guide to the Marylanders. He brought them to "as noble a seat as could be wished," and then left them, drawn away by Captain Claiborne, factor for Clobery. The Baltimore party expected to bring the Indians to their religion at once, and to establish trade with them at once. While Captain Fleet was with them they fancied they could proceed but little with the Piscataway in matters of religion, because the captain, a Protestant, misconstrued their talk. Moreover the Captain, an old experienced trader, was at first willing to go as partner with them in their trade, but soon was off getting skins on his own account or for Captain Claiborne. Coelum non mundum mutant qui trans mare currunt.

Among the memoranda of the first Marylanders, it is especially interesting to read Leonard Calvert's letter home to his associate Sir Richard Lechford, dated May 30, 1634. Leonard Calvert came with the party for Maryland for trade, the Indian trade in skins. He had already an intimate acquaintance with the trade. What he said in his letter throws light upon the history of the business, when business organization in general was being so greatly pushed by Strafford. In the first place, the rosiness of Leonard Calvert's hopes is evidence of the briskness of the Claiborne trade at the time. But Leonard Calvert was writing, too, to hearten his associate who had money desired on account. He said—"By direction of our Captain Henry Fleet, who was very well acquainted with all parts of the river and of the Indians likewise, I found a most convenient harbour and pleasant country lying on each side of it. Whilst we were a-doing these thing [necessary to a seating] our pinnace by our directions followed the trade of beaver through all parts of the precincts of this province. But by reason of our so late arrivall here we came too late for the first part of the trade of this year: which is the reason I have sent home so few furrs (they being dealt for by those of Virginia before our coming)—the second part of our trade is now in hand, and is like to prove very beneficiall. The nation we trade withal at this time a-year is called the Massawomeckes. This nation cometh seven, eight, and ten days journey to us—these are those from whom Kircke had formerly all his trade of beaver. We have lost by our late coming 3000 skins, which otners of Virginia have traded for, but hereafter they shall come no more here, wherefore I make no doubt but next year we shall drive a very great trade if our supply of trucke fail not. There is not anything doth more indanger the losse of Commerce with the Indians than want of trucke to barter with them, wherefore I hope you will not grudge to put in your share though as yet you have not the full return you expected."

It is a little striking that Leonard Calvert, in his very informing letter, said nothing of Captain William Claiborne by name. Captain Claiborne was in touch with Clobery & Company—and that was a powerful firm. Whoever has power abuses it, an eminent historian remarked. Clobery & Company treated Captain

Claiborne badly, so far as the record appears. The Captain held on at Kent Island, both by management and by gunpowder. But the Baltimore Marylanders showing rather strong with their charter, Clobery & Company began to cool towards their factor, who was no Marylander. Trade follows the flag. Instead of putting the case plainly, that as Maryland-Virginia politics stood, Captain Claiborne's political activities were prejudicial to his factorship at Kent Island, the Cloberys for reasons difficult to understand followed the method of indirection. Possibly they were so interested elsewhere they left Kent Island to shift for itself. Possibly the Marylanders were forced to subtle plotting as against so strong a man as Captain Claiborne. The facts are, that late in 1636 there appeared at Kent Island Captain George Evelin who from his first coming may have been an agent of the Cloberys, set to watch the performance of Captain Claiborne. George Evelin professed himself a friend to Claiborne and no Baltimore man. He had an uncle, Captain Young, who about this time was endeavoring to establish a trading post in the Delaware River.[2] George Evelin could talk of the trade and made himself agreeable. At last, early in 1637, there arrived at the Island a ship, the Sara and Elizabeth, sent with servants and goods by Clobery & Company, but con-

[2]Captain Thomas Young, the son of Gregory Young, merchant of London (a Yorkshireman) was born in London in the year 1579. He came to Virginia and Maryland and the Delaware river in 1634. He had already seen something of Spain and Italy. Captain Young's sister Susanna married Robert Evelyn of Wotton, Surrey, and was aunt (by marriage) to John Evelyn, the diarist. Thus George Evelyn was nephew of Thomas Young.

Captain Young was a man of good intelligence. He was greatly an admirer of Sir John Harvey, and could therefore see little good in William Claiborne and less in that powerful republican Captain Samuel Matthews. Captain Young wrote an interesting letter from James River to Sir Toby Matthew the fall of 1634, (printed in Plowden Weston's *Documents Relating to South Carolina*) in which he spoke of his own plans for exploration to the South Sea, and gave some account of Governor Harvey's expedition, under the command of Captain Matthews, far up the country. See Note in Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania.*

signed not to Captain Claiborne but to George Evelin. And pointedly, power of attorney was exhibited from the Company, demoting Captain Claiborne from his factorship at the post and substituting George Evelin. Captain Claiborne was summoned home to show cause why he had not recently been trading to better advantage. He had not the trucke! He had been making what shift he could, had kept the post going, but without plenty of trucke from his principals [Leonard Calvert let us know], the Chesapeake Indians would fall away. They had learned speedily what the trade should be. This trade history of Kent Island is worth examination on several counts.

From the evidence, we will assume that Henry Fleet and William Claiborne were the chief promoters of the Virginia Indian Trade, at least to the Northward, in Chesapeake Bay and up the Potomac, during the years immediately after the Company rule ceased, and miscellaneous commercial enterprise directed from London, was growing more active. Lord Baltimore's Maryland interfered with those Virginians trading to the northward, just as William Penn's grant was later to interfere with Lord Baltimore. Metes and bounds in an old free country like America were difficult to fix in matters of trade with the naturalls. Any regulation of such a trade was of course difficult. Lord Baltimore at one time tried to prevent Maryland from dealing with the Indians for pork, but the Marylanders would not be prevented. As for skins and furs, Virginia found early that too many skins were going out of the country as articles of export—the people needed skins at home in Virginia. Virginia in 1633, at the height of William Claiborne's northern trade, discovered that too much cloth was being engrossed by Indian traders. An act was then passed admitting "that all trade with the natives was to be cherished for many respects, yet it being thought fit that the necessity of present want should be first supplied," it was ordered that trade to the Indians in cottons and bayes be stopped except by special leave. In Virginia and in Maryland, for some years after the first Massacre, it is pretty evident that there was a considerable Indian trade. Then, as such intercourse went on, with its inevitable misunderstandings unmodified by the chastened spirit, there sprung up in the nature

of things jealousy, unfairness, and settled hostility. By 1641, despite of the very good intentions of the Governors of Maryland, there was a settled hostility towards the Marylanders on the part of their Indian inmates and neighbors. We do not know: maybe the Virginia traders, up the Chesapeake or across the Rappahannock Marches, egged on the Maryland Indians. Maybe the old Opechancanough of Virginia, seeing how the Maryland Indians stood of their own accord, waited for a time he judged fitting and then struck. Some people thought the civil strifes in England had something to do with unsettling the Indians, whose unsettling at any time needs no long explanatory argument. However it was, the Indians of Maryland were on bad terms with their European neighbors by 1641. And year 1644 Indians of Virginia came down for another massacre. But a few months before, government had made proclamation for a Day of Thanksgiving, in memory of the 22nd of March 1622. The warring that followed gave, in Virginia, a notable impulse to the organization of the Indian Trade.

April 1644, the Opechancanough's people came down to slay. They slew, and if they had held firm they might have retarded Virginia greatly. Luck was with the English. Also, Sir William Berkeley being their governor, they met the facts pointedly and squarely. They harried the enemy. To keep him at a comfortable distance, recurrent as he was, they set up forts—on the Pamunkey (Fort Royal), on Chickahominy Ridge (Fort James), at the Falls of the Appomattox (Fort Henry). Then Captain Henry Fleet was commissioned to negotiate a peace, at his own expense should he fail. We gather that Captain Fleet was still a powerful man in Indian affairs, and if he carried through a treaty was to be allowably much the gainer. Treaty was arranged with Necotowance, successor of the ancient Opechancanough, on terms that showed a marked advance of civilization; Necotawance must do homage for his land to the King of England, in token whereof he was fined 20 beaver skins "at the going away of the Geese yearly." The people of Necotowance were to keep themselves carefully to the North side of York River, and to the South their dead line was drawn from the head of Yapin the Blackwater to the old Monakin Town. When trading was to be done, or runaway blacks returned, the people of Necotowance were to repair from the North

north west to Fort Royal (Ricahack) on the Pamunkey—from the south, to Fort Henry on the Appomattox or to the house opposite of Captain John Flood. At the time, Captain Flood was chief interpreter to the colony. His house being on the Appomattox the evidence is perhaps that the more important Indian business of Virginia had shifted already to the South. Certain it is, that of the four trading forts established after the second massacre, Fort Henry, under Captain Abraham Wood on river Appomattox, was the most conspicuous as the records are. Captain Wood, who had made his own way in the colony, once established at Fort Henry, long continued there. He was a Southside man. Stipulations following the massacre of 1644 made it clear that the north side and the south side of the James were, by reason of the broad river, regions distinct; each must fend for itself. Abraham Wood was chosen commander on the Southern March. His abilities, well approved in peace and war, he was confirmed by government in his tenure of Fort Henry, allowed to keep the post (with a plantation) at his own charge, free of taxation for a term of years. He was to maintain a small force there, his own trading force, which should be garrison as well. This was the policy with all those forts—the emergency past, those four posts were handed over to private enterprise, trader's enterprise, the concessionaire to guarantee defence. Captain Henry Fleet had in this way been authorized, when treating with Necotowance, to build a fort on Rappahannock, an important station, but we know more about Fort Henry. The second massacre had done much to organize the trade.

An exploratory trade, the Indian Trade from the James River country, during Charles I's last years and later, was substantially furthered by Sir William Berkeley, Governor of the Colony. The Berkeleys were good Americans. Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir William Berkeley's father, was a member of the Virginia Company. Lord Berkeley of Stratton, Sir William Berkeley's brother, was upon the Restoration a Proprietor up and down the Atlantic Coast from Hudson's Bay to Florida. The minute and transcendental philosopher, Bishop Berkeley of the Bermudas (theoretically) and Rhode Island was perhaps a distant relation. George Berkeley, Baron Berkeley, to whom was inscribed the Anatomy of Melan-

choly, became in 1630 immediately upon the grant a feudatory of Sir Robert Heath in Carolina. When Sir William Berkeley came to Virginia about 1640 he had good reason to think himself interested in the country—he had been a Canada Commissioner in 1632. The author of the "Perfect Description," writing near the Strand to be sure, said of Sir William Berkeley in 1648—"and had not this present governor been sent as he was and continued, who hath done all a gentleman could do to maintain the colony alive, it had upon this second massacre been utterly deserted and ruinated, as things stand in our own land. [But] the Indians have of late acquainted our Governor that within five days journey to the west and by south there is a great high mountain, and at foot thereof great rivers that run into a great sea. Sir William was hereupon preparing fifty horse and fifty foot to go and discover this thing himself in person which will mightily advance and enrich this country. And for matter of their better knowledge of the land they dwell in, the planters resolve to make a further discovery west and by south up above the fall and over the hills, and are confident upon what they have learned of the Indians to find a way to China and East Indies[3] . . . and by such a discovery the planters in Virginia shall gain the rich trade of the East India, part by land and part by water, and in a most gainful way and safe, and far less expenseful and dangerous than now it is."

There is no claim that Sir William Berkeley was the instigator of the authorized Virginia trading exploration of his time. It is

[3]"For Sir Francis Drake was on the back side of Virginia in his voyage about the world, in 37 degrees just opposite to Virginia and called New Albion. But of this certainty Mr. Henry Briggs, that most judicious and learned mathematician, wrote a small tractate and presented it to that most noble Earl of Southampton, then Governor of the Virginia Company" (*Tract on the Northwest Passage to the South Sea through the Continent of Virginia, London*, 1622.) Virginia Farrar of Little Gidding, read the "Perfect Description." In 1651, when British navigation was looking up again, Mistress Farrar (or her father John Farrar) published a map of Virginia, showing a picture of Drake in one corner, with the legend beneath that New Albion was about ten day's march from Virginia.

reasonable to suppose that he could have small influence in government explorations under the Commonwealth. And it is not proved that he was at any time directly concerned in the Indian Trade. But it is known that Sir William Berkeley was an encourager to exploration. During his many years in Virginia there was much exploration, as a thing of course. The country had shown itself able to exist, and that meant growth. Give the English footing in a country of eastward flowing rivers like Virginia, and a no-man's land between them and the Spanish, what was to be expected? There was no pan-Indian policy, else from the west and the south and other quarters, Virginia, (and Sir William Berkeley), might have gone down under pressure. Admitting their dreads, the South was the most negotiable quarter for the Virginia English, and Southern Virginians, (especially Abraham Wood of Appomattox Falls), are most in evidence now as factors in what went on then among the explorers. For example in 1650 Edward Bland, merchant in James River, Captain Abraham Wood and others, were permitted by the Governor to go exploring south. They went South South West several days journey and then they thought it well to return. They reached a country in their opinion "far more temperate than ours of Virginia, and the inhabitants full of children." This was likely the country of the Island of Occoneechee, where the Roanoke branches into the Sapony and the Saura, that is to say the Staunton and the Dan. On the way out a Nottaway King said to them: There was a Wainoke Indian told him that there was an Englishman, a Cockarous, hard by Captain Flood's gave this Indian bells and other petty truck to lay down to the Tuskarood King, and would have had him to go with him, but the Wainoke in doubt what to do when to Captain Flood who advised him not to go for that the Governor would give no license to go thither. Our recorded history in this field is plainly fragment. The Englishman of the narrative, a cockarous or important man, went to the Tuscarora without the Wainoke and without pestering the Governor. The exploring party heard of him again: a Tuscarora Indian they met at a Meherrin town gave them word that the adventuring cockarous was then a great way off at the further Tuscarora town. Mr. Ed-

ward Bland sent him a letter, couched in English, Latin, Spanish, French and Dutch. Nothing came of the polyglottal note. Some time afterwards they found that the runner they employed never took the letter. Several things that happened they were convinced had been done "of purpose to get something out of us and we had information that at that time there were other English among the Indians." License? What mattered license? The man who fancied the risk took it."[4] Hakluyt's story is not unbelievable of Davy Ingram roving in 1578 from Mexico to Massachusetts Bay.

The reading of their journal does not give the idea that Bland and Wood were accomplishing much of importance in exploration. They went into the vague, went down South not much more than a hundred miles, to Occoneechee perhaps, as that region was later called. It is the asides of Bland and Wood's journal that are of interest. Any of Abraham Wood's force of ten at his post may well have seen all that country sometime before. Mr. Bland made his progress. There is no saying whether the mysterious cockarous of the journal, and the other roving English mentioned, were not already in 1650 sufficiently familiar with the Tuscarora towns. There is no saying what were the characteristics of the Virginia trade to the Indians from 1644 on, to and beyond the Restoration. That must have been a nervous time. Under the Commonwealth in Virginia exploration at least was much encouraged. Parliament's Governors were not behind Sir William Berkeley in that matter. Governor Bennett was especially concerned. Nor were the Commonwealth men in power chary of granting privileges to those of an exploring turn, old trading explorers like Claiborne, Fleet, and Wood. In 1652 it was ordered that Colonel William Claiborne, Captain Henry Fleet, they and their associates with them, might and should enjoy such benefits, profits, and trades for fourteen years as they should find out in places where no English ever had "bin and discovered or had perticular trade: the like order granted to Major Abraham Wood and his associates." The

[4]A Lynnhaven Bay man, in 1654, went by way of Roanoke Island up country to the Tuscarora Emperor's. (See Letter of Francis Yardley to John Farrar in *Narratives of Early Carolina*).

particular trade was most likely an Indian trade. But where had Colonel Claiborne, Captain Fleet, and Major Wood not been? It is a legend that Major Wood, following his order of 1652, and trying to go where he had never been, reached waters of the Mississippi in 1654. Who were the Ricahecrians who in 1656 are supposed to have come down from the West and to have demoralized Colonel Hill of Virginia and some Pamunkeys? Were the Ricahecrians Cherokee, and were they displeased at Major Wood's attempts? From a statute after that disturbance, end of year 1656, it is to be inferred that the posts at the heads of the rivers were not in regular maintenance, but that traders were still there. The statute ran—no Indian was to come within the fenced plantations without a ticket from some person to be nominated on the head of each river where the Indians lived: and any freeman could lawfully repair to the said houses (or Indian marts) at the heads of the rivers and trade with the Indians in permitted communities. There is nothing in this statute by which we can trace the professional trader.[5] The indication is that he was being discouraged at that juncture, that a miscellaneous trade was being encouraged, but with restriction as far as might be upon any roving, packhorse trade out among the Indians. As for the value of the trade, however accomplished, it is plain how high the value was, from the startling enactment of 1659, 10th Commonwealth.—"Whereas it is manifest that the neighboring plantations, both of English and forainers [Dutch] do plentifully furnish the Indians

[5]cf. Hening, II, 20; 138-143: March 1660/61.

"No person to trade with the Indians for any beaver, otter or other furs unless he first obtain a commission from the Governor, who is desired to grant the same to none but persons of known integrity." The interloping trader was to be mulcted. Mention was made of ill minded, idle, and unskilful people in the trade, supplying the Indians with ammunition, and filling the colonists with rumors. These statutes, in their expressed determination to deal fairly with the Indian, are particularly informing. Indian Kings were not to be treated summarily by licensed traders, and no slaves were to be taken by the traders among the Indians. That is plain evidence that the trader was going into the Indian territory, was not stopping at the limits legalized for the Indian himself.

with gunns, powder and shott, and do thereby draw from us the trade of beaver to our great loss and their profit . . . it is enacted that every man may freely trade for guns, powder, and shott, it derogating nothing from our safety and adding much to our advantage." A striking pronouncement, certainly in view of the late unpleasantnesses. Trade follows the imagination. The laissez-faire policy shown in this enactment gave place very soon to a definite objective programme in the circumstances. Early in 1662 it was ordered that the Governor should cause by proclamation a prohibition of all Marylanders, English and Indians ("which they have already done to us") and of all other Indians to the northward of Maryland from trucking, trading, bartering or dealing with any English or Indians to the South of that place. Colonel Abraham Wood was empowered to manage this broad, impossible business. Maryland, in fine, was charged with being unethical, a term not used then, on the ground that Susquehannock and other Northern Indians were frequently coming down to the heads of the Virginia rivers, whereby plain paths would soon be made and the whole trade of the Indians tributary to Virginia be drawn away. And so the Governor was to make proclamation about it. This was an extraordinary enactment. It seems now as if it had been folly to meet the facts that way. The facts as exhibited are of much interest.

To the south also, the Restoration come about, there were interesting facts and foreshadowings in respect of trade to the Naturalls of the region. How the story of the Reverend Morgan Jones is to be construed is not clear—how in 1660 he found Indians among the Tuscarora able to speak the old British or Welsh language, and to understand homilies in that language.[6] Jones (whom Humboldt in his *Cosmos* calls Morgan Chapelain), Morgan Jones said that he was chaplain to Sir William Berkeley's Virginia mission to Port Royal, later Carolina; that he had gone up the country to a Tuscarora town, and being under sentence of death there was rescued by a British speaking man of the tribe. Jones, lamenting his fate in Welsh, was caught up by his deliverer and reassured in Welsh. Did Sir William Berkeley send an

[6]See *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XIX, 163.

expedition by sea to Port Royal in 1660? If so, he may have been looking into the country for his friends at court, they and he so soon to become Proprietaries thereof. Governor again in 1660, Sir William Berkeley was encouraged about the state of Virginia (see his very able *Discourse and View of Virginia,* 1663) and still open to conviction with regard to the back country. In 1669 he had a plan, somewhat as of twenty years gone, to go out to the West "with 200 gents," and find the Indian Sea. Continued rains prevented, and he was not regretful, remembering, as he said, Sir Walter Raleigh. Then in 1670 he seems to have authorized John Lederer, a German, to set about exploring West and Southwest. Doctor Lederer went to the mountains, (the Quirauk, Ricahecrian, or Blue Ridge), but as for the Southwest, the narrative he has left looks to be fiction, the working up, no doubt, of Indian trader's talk. It is possible that 1670, the year the Hudson's Bay Company was chartered, saw new impulse given the Indian Trade in Virginia. There was fixed settlement in Carolina then, and curiosity may have come thence, besides that Sir William Berkeley was governor of Virginia and a Proprietor of Carolina. At any rate, Abraham Wood, Major General Wood, sent out Batts and Fallam in 1671 to discover something of the West for King Charles and for the trade. Those emissaries proclaimed King Charles at New or Wood River, but dreading the Salt Indians[7] of the misty beyond, they returned to the Appomattox, having contributed little to knowledge. At the Totero town, on the upper Roanoke, near the mountains, they learned that Captain Byrd of James River Falls was in the neighborhood with a company of explorers. Captain Byrd and General Wood were in 1671 competitors in the Indian Trade to the South.

An interesting year for the trade, 1673. Captain William Byrd was twenty one that year, had reached his majority with a sound head for business, courage and promptitude in going after it. His

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[7]The Salt Indians, or Shawnee "never suffered any stranger to return that had once discovered their towns." In 1672 the Iroquois of the North, "who warred upon the whole world" scattered confusion among the Salt Indians. cf *William and Mary College Quarterly,* XIX, 83.

uncle Thomas Stegg, a man of business and solid business connections, had settled upon the Restoration at the Falls of James River, and during the ten years to 1671 had pretty certainly organized a pack-horse trade to Indian towns South. To William Byrd that business was bequeathed in 1671. He and General Wood were then competitors, and it is very likely that General Wood sending out Batts and Fallam, Captain Byrd thought it well to show himself explorer also on their path. The Indian Trade was of course a sphere-of-influence affair. General Wood was convinced of that. His statement regarding his extraordinary attempts of 1673 was—"That I have been at the charge to the value of two hundred pounds starling in the discovery to the South or West Sea declaro." His men Needham and Arthur, the summer of 1673, went all the way, indisputably, all the long way from Appomattox Falls to the Little Tennessee. Since Bland's progress of 1650 the path may have been both known and traded over, from the Appomattox to Occoneechee Island on Roanoke. Needham and Arthur passed Occoneechee, kept on Southwest in the Piedmont, and then West North West into the Hills of laughing waters and Tomahitan Cherokee. Leaving Arthur to learn the language, Needham returned to General Wood's and on his way out again was killed by an Occoneechee, Indian John, a little beyond the Yadkin River. "So died," wrote General Wood, "this heroick Englishman, whose fame shall never die if my pen were able to eternize it, which had adventured where never any Englishman had dared to atempt before him, and with him died one hundred forty four pounds starling of my adventure. I wish I could have saved his life with ten times the value." Needham, it may be, was that James Needham who was associated in Carolina with Dr. Woodward, first and famous Indian trader of the Charleston country. Carolina was growing to be a fact, of the British Empire, from 1670 to 1673. There is indication that Dr. Woodward in 1671 travelled up, by the paths as they were from Carolina to Virginia. What if James Needham went with him and so made acquaintance with General Wood? Far western European curiosity about northern America was becoming settled interest in 1673. To the alarm of some of the old inhabitants, it appeared that far

western Europe was intending not for a little but for a great deal of North America. The Hudson's Bay Company was doing business. The Dutch and the English were balancing power at Manhattan, Tawasentha, and that region. The Carolinians had got footing. And the French were making way from the Lakes down Mississippi Valley. The Spanish and the Indians, by no means of a common cause, must have been alarmed. About the month of June 1673 the Marquette party were at the mouth of the Ohio: there they found Indians armed with guns and supplied with European implements and glass. July 1673 Needham and Arthur came to the Tomahitan town on Little Tennessee. The Cherokee there had among them sixty guns with locks of a strange fashion, and those Indians spoke of white people "down the river," who rang bells and lived in brick houses. All that, by the unfolding of the times, meant a changed America. We count 1673, from the circumstances of the American case, as a year appropriately chosen for the beginning of a closer survey of the Southern Indian Trade

PROFESSIONAL BIOGRAPHY OF MONCURE ROBINSON.

This biography is a reprint of the Professional Biography of Moncure Robinson by R. B. Osborne, C. E., which was privately printed in 1889. The editors have been able to find but one copy of the original and that is in the John Crerar Library of Chicago. The little book being so scarce, the editors have decided to reprint it without any change. It tells the story of a very remarkable man, one of the most distinguished civil engineers of the 19th century, not only in America, but abroad. He graduated from William and Mary College at a very early age, and had the courage to select the career of a civil engineer, a calling at that time hardly recognized in America as a profession. His experience was unusual, in that it covered the early canal and railroad building period. He married Charlotte Randolph, daughter of Bennett and Susan Beveley (Randolph) Taylor, and granddaughter of Edmund Randolph, first attorney general of the United States. He left five sons and three daughters. For special help and courtesy in securing information about Moncure Robinson, the editors wish to thank his son, Dr. Beverley Robinson, of New York City. For his descendants, see Hayden's *Virginia Genealogies*.

A record of the professional career of Mr. Robinson, one of America's most eminent engineers, as well known in Europe as in his native land, is due to the profession of which he is the honored senior member. This duty has been undertaken voluntarily, and without even asking Mr. Robinson's permission, by an engineer officer who commenced his own career in one of Mr. Robinson's corps of engineers, and who has served him professionally in every responsible position, on important public works, at intervals during a space of forty years, and who is cognizant of many of the incidents mentioned herein.

Mr. Moncure Robinson is a native of Virginia, a State that has been the mother of so many men whose names are enrolled among the most celebrated and honored of our country. He is the eldest son of the late Mr. John Robinson, of the well-remembered firm of Moncure, Robinson & Pleasants, merchants, of Richmond, Virginia, formerly engaged in an extensive foreign and South American trade.[1]

[1]Moncure Robinson died in Philadelphia Nov. 10, 1891, in his 90th year.

Born in Richmond, Virginia, in the year A. D. 1802, Mr. Robinson is now, therefore, in his eighty-sixth year. Fair health and unusual energy enable him still to exercise the sound judgment and penetrating foresight for which throughout his life he has been noted.

When he was but six years old his education commenced, in the Gerardine Academy, under the leadership of Mr. Gerardine[2] a French gentleman of high literary attainments, and at the age of thirteen he entered William and Mary College, the oldest university in the country after Harvard. Augustine Smith, M. D., A. M., Professor of Political Economy, was then President, with Professor Campbell, Professor of Mathematics,—also Professors Wood and Fremont; the latter, the French Professor, was the father of the present General Fremont. From him young Robinson acquired such a perfect knowledge of the French language that in after years it was a passport for him to the halls and studios of the Paris savants. Young Robinson advanced rapidly in all the mathematical and scientific branches, and when sixteen years of age, although then the youngest student in William and Mary College he had passed all his examinations in preparation for graduating as A. M.

Mr. John Robinson, his father, was desirous he should enter on the study of law, but young Robinson, though he had exhibited talents already in that direction, in the defence which he had been selected to make in behalf of certain students of the college who were accused of holding revolutionary principles, yearned more after physics than Blackstone's Commentaries, which, however, he had studied, and which proved of aid to him in the profession he finally adopted.

In the year 1818 the Board of the Public Works of Virginia decided to have a topographical survey and connected line of levels made across the entire State from Richmond to the Ohio River. This presented a fine opportunity to the mind of the young as-

[2]This was L. H. Girardin, at one time professor of modern languages in William and Mary College, and a joint author of the 4th volume of Burk's *History of Virginia.*

pirant, Robinson, and he immediately applied for a position in the corps of engineers to be appointed for the explorations. On account of his youth, his application was refused, but young Robinson was not to be turned from his purpose, and by perseverance got permission to accompany the party as a volunteer and sort of supernumerary.

Receiving no pay, he found himself in the very position that suited him. Independent of routine work, well mounted on his own horse, he could gratify his ambitious will, studying the great topographical features of the country, while he left otners to work out the minor details. The services thus rendered by the young volunteer soon were found to be essential, and, in place of being a follower, he really became a leader in the party.

The country through which the party then had to pass was a most difficult one for such explorations. Young Robinson, though not of a very robust constitution, bore the privations and exposures manfully, and the services rendered were so much appreciated by the commissioners that his very youth, coupled with his being a volunteer bearing his own expenses, were adjuncts of no little value to his early reputation.

During this exploration young Robinson made many friends and acquaintances, that were of great benefit to him subsequently in his professional career. He and one of his fellow college-students were the mathematicians of the party.

This exploration was made under the general direction of Messrs. More, of Maryland, and Briggs, of New York. These gentlemen were not engineers, but were men of strong good sense.

The route specially examined crossed the Alleghany Mountains near the head-waters of the Greenbrier River, where the explorers launched their boats, brought with them on wheels by experienced boatmen selected from the James River. From the Greenbrier by New River the party reached the Great Kanawha, and proceeded down it to Gallipolis at its mouth, on the Ohio, where the services of the boatmen and boats were dispensed with.

Mr. Robinson, during the getting up the details of the field-work, visited extended districts, which, by reason of their field-duties, the other members of the party had no opportunity of

doing, and in his long rides he startled many of the quiet residents by his mysterious pioneer movements. One of these, Philip R. Thompson,[3] in what is now known as the Charleston district, was the dispenser of hospitalities to him for many days, and was exuberant in his joy as his guest expatiated on the resources of his State, in the future development of which this exploration was a preliminary step. Mr. Thompson's residence thus was for the time Mr. Robinson's head-quarters, from which he explored the great coal-fields of West Virginia, and made valuable reports thereon, to take back with him to Richmond, describing much that had not been understood before, and showing the large quantity of the undeveloped wealth of the state. It was at this time that Mr. Robinson made surveys of the so-called Indian fortifications and corrected the erroneous popular idea, showing that they really were the remains of Indian storehouses, and not fortifications.

Mr. John Robinson, the father of the subject of this sketch, was at this period owner of much landed property in West Virginia, but of its character and precise location he was ignorant. In the year 1819 his son Moncure prepared himself for a second exploration, and went in the saddle through the north-western portion of the State, and made a careful reconnoissance of the valleys of the Cheat and Alleghany rivers to Pittsburg, for the purpose of hunting up and locating his father's wild lands; and on his return visited the valley of the Monongahela, where General Braddock was defeated, and, proceeding thence to Harper's Ferry, made good his return to Richmond. This was a ride on horseback of several hundred miles, at the age of seventeen.

In the year 1812, Mr. Robinson paid a professional visit to the Erie Canal, then being constructed, and, through the courtesy of Goveror De Witt Clinton and Canvass White, was given full opportunities of inspecting its plans, and becoming thus familiar with the details of that great work, by which he was able to form an early estimate of the ability of canals as competitors of railroads. Unbiased by the subsequent mania that took possession of

[3]This was Philip Rootes Thompson, a member of the House of Delegates from Kanawha in 1818/19. He was later a member of the 7th, 8th and 9th Congresses.

the public mind after the completion of this canal in 1825, when canals in general found their stock worth from three to six times their original value, Mr. Robinson remained the steady advocate, save under special conditions, of the construction of railroads instead of canals.

In the year 1821, Mr. Robinson, being about nineteen years of age, was employed by Governor Pleasants, of Virginia, to make the location for a short extension of the James River Canal, which was then about three miles above Richmond, and as chief engineer he widened the first portion, and then extended it about thirty miles, acting under the general manager, Randolph Harrison, the owner of the Dover estate.

Subsequently it was proposed to still farther extend this canal for a distance of two hundred and fifty miles to Covington, the head of boat-navigation, and the governor again called on Mr. Robinson to undertake the construction. But after well weighing matters as to the advantages of making such extension, Mr. Robinson earnestly advised against the construction of the proposed canal extension, and strongly advocated the building of a railroad in lieu thereof, with gradients suited to its prospective traffic. This was in 1821, when Clay and Sergeant were the political leaders, and a little after the Territory of Missouri had been brought into the confederation as a slave State. Mr. Robinson had made up his mind about the comparative capabilities of railroads and canals, and tried to save his State from the grave error contemplated in the construction of this canal to Covington, and he most strenuously urged on the authorities the great advantages to be gained by the adoption of his views, and, failing to convince them, respectfully declined to take part in the proposed extension of the James River Canal.

In the year 1825, Mr. Robinson, being about twenty-three years of age, went to France for the purpose of becoming professionally acquainted with the public works of that country, especially its harbors, and to attend during the winter the lectures of the learned professors of the mathematical, scientific, and philosophical branches. In the summer he visited also England and Wales, and, becoming acquainted with the leading engineers

of these countries, had the opportunity of gaining a large amount of experience not obtainable in any other way, during the nearly three years in which he devoted his whole time to those pursuits.

In the summer of 1825, the first year of Mr. Robinson's visit to Europe, he carried out his determination of seeing that part of Holland most interesting to the engineer, its low countries, now in the kingdom of the Netherlands,—a flat and depressed country gently sloping toward the German Ocean, originally a series of banks of sand exposed to floods from the Rhine which deposited large quantities of alluvial debris from the Swiss mountains. This district is now protected from the waves of that sea rolling in on a higher level by the world-renowned dikes, that stretch along the coast for one hundred miles, joining the natural sandhills to the north, which rise to an altitude, in places, of one hundred and seventy-five feet over the ocean-beach level. These dikes generally are about thirty feet in height, though in places they rise to twice that elevation. They are planted on each side with trees, between which the public roads and the canals of the country have been constructed.

The Dutch have had a widespread notoriety for their patient industry, exemplified, it is said by their formation of these dikes, and Mr. Robinson has ever given them due credit for the exercise of this virtue. But after full investigation of the coast and its local characteristics, under the great processes of nature, by its storms, floods, and tides, he has given a far more correct solution of a problem that seems to have puzzled other professional visitors to this country,—of the real cause of these persevering and laborious people being able to achieve such extraordinary results, in the formation and preservation of these extensive dikes, that dam out the German Ocean from the Low Country, and turn marshes and barren sands into green fields and productive agricultural lands. The constructive and destructive powers of nature are irresistible by man's direct opposition, but working in the line of its own operations, man by his God-given wisdom can control these forces and render them great and powerful co-workers with him.

Mr. Robinson has shown that the long lines of sand-hills, to

which these dikes are closely joined as continuous barriers against the inroads of the ocean, have through long-past ages been deposited there by the ocean itself in separate mounds, which the storms have from time to time made continuous by blowing the higher crests of sand into the intermediate spaces. This action of nature has occupied a long period of time, but the operation in its slow action continues; and, as he states, the accumulation and deposit from the ocean, and the retirement of the sea in some slight degree, alone supply the material for the formation of these dikes, and are the secret of their formation and preservation, the action of nature being only aided and guided and thus controlled by these hard-working and industrious people, who have learned by experience and watched carefully every opportunity of encouraging the work of their great co-operator, nature, and to secure and give form to every accumulation of sand deposited by the ocean. It is very evident that the large amount of material required for the formation of these dikes could only be supplied by the powers and processes of nature.

Accompanying these dikes are numerous windmills, which pump the water from the enclosed lands into the canals. The Haarlem Lake, which once contained an area of eighty-four square miles, with a depth of water of six feet, extending from the North Province into South Holland, scarcely existed three hundred years ago. Its increase farther over this area has been checked by the erection of dikes and dams. When Mr. Robinson visited that locality, he and his friends travelled on it for miles, and found villas on its banks and innumerable boats on its surface. He met here the Engineer of Works, who was then preparing for the erection of the three powerful steam-pumps for taking the water from Lake Haarlem, which have in the years since past effectually pumped out this lake and added forty-five thousand acres of arable land to the productive area of the country. Mr. Robinson visited many of the towns and villages in the interior, of which there are about a score, and remarked the peculiar cleanliness of the people, which he thought was the natural outgrowth of the abundance of water everywhere, and which thus became a second nature with the inhabitants.

Mr. Robinson, in this trip, was accompanied by Representative Crutchfield,[4] afterwards Speaker in the House of Delegates of Richmond, Virginia; also by a wealthy gentleman from Boston, largely connected with the commercial business of his city. Both of these gentlemen had earnestly solicited to be allowed to join Mr. Robinson, relying on him to act for them as interpreter. These gentlemen were well and favorably known to many influential parties in Amsterdam and Antwerp, and the chief men in both these cities were easy and agreeable. Public receptions in these cities were given to Mr. Robinson and his friends, and the young engineer, then twenty-three years of age, was afforded every opportunity of inquiry into the peculiarities, plans, and enterprises of the good people of Holland.

It was at this time that the authorities had matured their investigations of the question of reclamation from the sea of large tracts of land, and at a point near Amsterdam their attention was then particularly directed. Greatly interested in the plans proposed, and learning much from their valuable experience, Mr. Robinson has been gratified in following up the accounts of their proceedings and successes during the sixty years that have since elapsed. In that time the great land reclamation near Amsterdam has been perfected, more than eighty lakes in the North and South Provinces have been drained and many thousand of acres have been brought under the use and cultivation of man. These great results are due to man's perfecting his knowledge of the application of steam.

It was just at the time when the question that had already occupied so much of Mr. Robinson's attention was the chief topic in Europe for railroads were beginning to arouse the people from their long slumber. George Stephenson was progressing with his Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and earnest views of professional men regarding the character and utility of both classes of improvements were the order of the day. These fully confirmed Mr. Robinson in all that he had been advocating, and left him still in the hope that his own native State would learn wisdom from

[4]Oscar M. Crutchfield of Spotsylvania.

the lesson, and give up the extension of the James River Canal. He was acquainted with George Stephenson, then the rising star in the professional sky, and managed while in England to spend much of his time with him, and conferred with him about the tunnel then under construction at the Liverpool terminus of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. In the latter part of 1827, Mr. Robinson returned to the United States.

Early in 1828 the canal commissioners of Pennsylvania called upon Mr. Robinson to make the surveys for the Pottsville and Danville Railway, with a view to the development of the anthracite coal-field. Stephen Girard, who was a large owner of coal-lands in the Mahanoy Valley, obtained the charter, and placed the same in Mr. Robinson's hands, ordering the construction of the road. Mr. Girard supplied two hundred thousand dollars for this construction during the first six months of its progress, but his death immediately after proved a preventive to its final completion according to the original plan, which was especially designed for the business proposed for it. The surveys were, therefore, not perfected in the manner contemplated to drain the Girard coal estate. It is certain that for a given business the use of water as a creator of power, and counter-balancing weight to return the empty cars, as brought into action on the cycloidal planes of this road by Mr. Robinson, regulated by stationary power at the head of each plane, would have proved efficient and economical. Three hundred thousand dollars were contributed by the State, and the planes as far as constructed for some three or four years passed about twenty thousand tons per annum. This coal was transshipped into boats on the Schuylkill Canal at Port Carbon.

In December, 1828, the canal commissioners of Pennsylvania appointed Mr. Robinson to make the survey for the Alleghany Portage Railroad. Starting from Hollidaysburg, this line crossed the Alleghany Mountains at Blair's Gap Summit with a tunnel one mile long and one hundred and forty feet lower than the work that has been constructed; thence the line descended to Johnstown in the Conemaugh Valleys, a distance of thirty-six and three-quarters miles. Connection was to be made with the canal-basins east and west, and there were to be five planes on each side of the

summit. This tunnel would have cut through the bituminous coal of the Alleghany, which, it is thought would have been a better development of that region than has been attained since. Such a road, with one hundred and forty feet less elevation to be overcome, would have supplied a cheaper transportation for heavy freights and Western produce than is now in use. In the year 1829, Mr. Robinson had completed his survey of the Portage road and made his report thereon to the canal commissioners.

In 1830, Lieutenant-Colonel Long made a report to that board on examinations made by him for the same road, in which he advocated the construction of a macadamized road in preference to a railroad. His plan called for eleven planes of more or less curves in their located lines, and recommended the avoidance of the Summit Tunnel proposed by Mr. Robinson. These different plans and other routes proposed were, under an act of the legislature of March, 1830, referred to a board of engineers to examine and report on the several proposed routes and plans. These engineers reported in advocacy of the route chosen by Mr. Robinson, which Colonel Long had also adopted, with the modifications before mentioned. This report left the merits of Mr. Robinson's and Colonel Long's plans still at issue before the canal commissioners. On the 5th of March, 1831, Mr. Robinson made a second report to the canal commissioners, reviewing the proposed plan of Colonel Long, and referring them to his former report submitted to them in 1829.

The American Society of Civil Engineers, of which Mr. Robinson was made an honorary member of its organization, has printed, in pamphlet form of forty pages, these reports of 1829 and 1831, which are in vol. XV, of their Transactions, by reference to which it will be seen that this whole subject-matter of Colonel Long's plans has been so ably treated that it fully demonstrates that the project advocated by Mr. Robinson was the most advantageous and correct one submitted. It was endorsed by such men as John B. Jervis and Horatio Allen. In closing this report, Mr. Robinson, while regretting the difference of views between Colonel Long and himself, states that he felt it to be his duty to present the results of a very full investigation to the commissioners,

who at once adopted his plans, though ultimately the Summit Tunnel, by reason of their timidity, was not constructed. Mr. Robinson's views were in fact too much in advance for the men of that period. The great French engineer, Michel Chevalier, subsequently visited the road, and he gave a very decided opinion that the avoidance of the tunnel which had been proposed by Mr. Robinson greatly impaired the efficiency of the whole work.

It was thus that Mr. Robinson, fifty-six years ago, had devised, and saw it put into execution, though shorn of its true efficiency, a plan for transporting loaded boats, from the canal at Hollidaysburg by rail over the Alleghany mountains, and, after a haul of thirty-eight miles, occupying about six hours, launching them again by a simple process into the canal basin at Johnstown, to proceed to Pittsburg. Here we find the pioneer thought for the production of a partnership between land and water transportation which Mr. Eads, in 1886, sought to enlarge upon in his scheme of a ship transit, via Nicaragua, between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean.

During their communication with him the commissioners consulted Mr. Robinson as to the best routes for the State railroad westward from Philadelphia, and by his advice Lancaster and Columbia were made points on that line.

In the year 1829, before Mr. Robinson entered upon the surveys for the Portage road, Mr. Stephens solicited him to accept the position of engineer-in-chief of the proposed Camden and Amboy Railroad, which he consented to do upon condition of having the appointment of all the officers of his engineering staff, and of being in full control of his department. These conditions were not agreeable to Mr. Stephens, and Mr. Robinson declined under the circumstances to accept the position.

In the year 1830, Mr. Robinson advocated and built in Virginia thirteen miles of railroad to reach the coal-fields of Heath and Mills which was perhaps the second railroad constructed in the United States the first being his Pottsville and Danville, under Stephen Girard. On this Virginia road there was an inclined plane, on which the gravity of descending cars was utilized for

the ascent of the empty—a novel idea at that day, but an example that has been often followed since.

In 1831, Mr. Robinson was engaged in the contruction of the Petersburg and Roanoke and the Richmond and Petersburg railroads. On the latter road he built the long bridge at Richmond over the James River. This structure was 2844 feet in length, and to its grade line was 60 feet above the water. It was composed of nineteen spans, varying from 140 to 153 feet in the clear. The superstructure was lattice, chiefly composed of two-inch pine plank, and had but 1500 pounds of iron in the whole structure. Its cost was $117,200, or $41 per foot lineal, including masonry,—a limit Mr. Robinson found to be necessary, to suit the means of the company. The economical cost of such a structure for railroad use was commented on by foreign engineers, to whom it was little short of an enigma, yet it was a large sum in those days to expend on one structure, and it indeed was then considered a great enterprise. It was Mr. Robinson's forte to "cut his coat according to his cloth," and he acquired an enviable reputation for his ability to adapt his expenditures to the means at his command.

Michael Chevalier, the noted French engineer, in his work on the public improvements of the United States, published in 1840, gave the plans, cost, and full details of this bridge, and it attracted the attention of the profession generally, and from it has sprung the iron lattice bridge so much used now in Europe. Had the Richmond and Petersburg company been able to supply their engineer with means to build this bridge of iron it would be doing duty to-day. The original piers built by Mr. Robinson are now supporting an iron Warren super-structure.

These works were completed in the year 1832.

About the same time Mr. Robinson advocated and commenced the construction of that most successful railroad, the Richmond and Fredericksburg, also the Winchester and Potomac Railroad, with Harper's Ferry for its subjective point. The Richmond and Fredericksburg road is now the most important link in the great route to the South and South-west, and must continue to be so.

In the year 1838, Messrs. Thomas Biddle, William Keating,

and Edward R. Biddle, of Philadelphia, conferred with Mr. Robinson about the construction of a line of railroad up the valley of the Little Schuylkill River, to develop the Tamaqua coal-field, and to be a feeder to the Schuylkill Canal, at Port Clinton, where the coal would be transhipped into the canal-boats by means of a lock at that place. This road Mr. Robinson built in 1833 and 1834, horse-power being used upon its till the completion of the Reading extension from Reading to Pottsville. When this extension was built, its tonnage reached tidewater by rail.

The next work to which Mr. Robinson was called was in 1834. This proved the crowning achievement of his professional career, —the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, a work that is indelibly stamped for all time with the genius of its first engineer, in giving to it at that early day of railroads its distinctive features, which have endowed it with a power to transport economically the immense special traffic for which he designed it. In this road Mr. Robinson had a good opportunity of carrying out and elucidating those principles, and the rules he laid down for his own guidance, before any of the surveys had been commenced. He made the start from the true zero point, viz., a close investigation of the character and quantity of the trade present and prospective, in each direction.

There were few minds at that early day which had sufficient expansion of ideas and clear forethought to be able to anticipate how great an increase of business the work itself, when opened to the public, would create, and so to construct it that its capacity could be readily expanded to meet economically any increase of the demand. The questions determined by Mr. Robinson as the primary and necessary elements—viz., the alignment and gradients —were regulated for the most advantageous transportation of the great staple this road was destined to accommodate, and also for the economic conveyance of a large mixed traffic.

The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad well exemplifies the correctness of the principle named. Forty thousand tons of coal alone, in one day, have passed over its rails, yet it never has been tried to its full capacity, which may be said to be limited only to the number of car-loads the mines can supply. Mr. Robinson's

estimate of seventy-five thousand tons per diem, as the ultimate prospective demand on its capabilities, made more than fifty years ago, was of course then considered Utopian, but it would now be deemed as much so to limit the capacity of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad to any such quantity.

The rules laid down before the construction of this road, by Mr. Robinson for his engineers in charge of that work, were few and simple; and it is owing to the faithful adherence to those rules that the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad has been rendered prominent as the leader of all the great coal-transporters in the world.

The first of these rules required that from the coal region to Columbia Bridge over the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, no grade should be adopted more difficult for the locomotive than a level.

Secondly, that all other grades, which must therefore be descending with the grade, should not exceed nineteen feet per mile; by which Mr. Robinson insured that whatever number of loaded cars an engine could take down to the terminus it would be able to bring back empty to the coal region.

The third rule prescribed that the shortest radius of curvature on the main line should be eight hundred and eighteen and fifty-seven hundredths feet, or seven degrees.

In 1834, Mr. Robinson obtained the charter for the extension of this road from Reading to Pottsville. Into this charter there had been inserted an objectionable clause, excluding foreign stockholders from the right of voting, to which narrow-minded policy Mr. Robinson strenuously objected.

He also got a charter during this year, to extend the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad to Acquia Creek, containing the same most liberal provisions as were embodied in the charter for the first portion of that road.

In 1836, Elihu Chauncey, who was the first President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, which position he held for nine years, prevailed on Mr. Robinson to undertake a visit to England, to confer with London capitalists and negotiate a loan for the completion of this railroad, including its extension to Pottsville. Leaving Mr. Wirt Robinson as engineer-in-chief, and Wilson Miles

Cary Fairfax as principal assistant, both of which gentlemen were relatives of Mr. Robinson and efficient engineers, he visited London in this year, being then in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and laid his plans and estimates, and his wonderful profile of grades, before Sir Francis Edgerton and his agent Mr. Licke.

Sir Francis made very close investigation of the whole matter, and was so impressed and convinced at his interviews with Mr. Robinson that he became greatly interested in him and his mission, which in itself was an assurance of its success.

Mr. Andrew Stevenson was then our Minister to England, and gave to Mr. Robinson the aid of his influence. During Mr. Robinson's stay in London, Sir Francis Edgerton gave him a special invitation to dinner where he met Lady Francis Edgerton, the Duchess-Countess of Sutherland, Lord William Bentinck, and Lord Bathurst.

Sir Francis Edgerton finally became the largest holder of a five-per-cent. loan to the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company for two millions of dollars, the first foreign loan negotiated for this company. Mr. Robinson had procured the well-known bankers Gowan & Marx of London, to negotiate it, and made Mr. Thomas Hankey (a gentleman well known in the United States, and the London representative of the house of Thomas Biddle & Co., of Philadelphia) its custodian. This loan was confined to two millions to leave room for home subscriptions.

A loan of one million for the extension of the road to Pottsville was also negotiated by Mr. Robinson, stipulated for on the condition of the railroad company having the obnoxious feature, of the exclusion of the votes of foreign stockholders, repealed.

Mr. Robinson went to London prepared to make his mission meet with the success it did, as he took with him the bonds he had had engraved before leaving Philadelphia, to prevent delay.

While in London Mr. Robinson became acquainted with England's noted civil engineers; among them was Isambard Kingdom Brunel, the builder of the famous Thames Tunnel, in which he was then engaged. With this gentleman Mr. Robinson became intimate, and conferred with him on important questions attending its construction. He was spending the day with Mr. Brunel

when the intelligence was brought to him of the flooding of the works by the river breaking through its floor above a portion of the tunnel then being made. Mr. Brunel received the intelligence with perfect calmness, merely inquiring if any life had been lost. In the subsequent measures adopted to re-form the river bottom and free the work of water Mr. Robinson took a lively interest, and his views were consulted on the best mode of carrying out the various details and perfecting this difficult operation.

The Bell Rock Light-house, off the east coast of Scotland, was another notable work, the plans of which were submitted to Mr. Robinson, on the invitation of Mr. Stevenson, its talented engineer.

In the year 1837, on his return to the United States, Mr. Robinson found that the objectionable legislation in the charter for the extension of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad had not been repealed; in fact, very few outside of the little circle named, who had been the pioneers and firm friends of this road with Mr. Robinson, took any interest in it, or believed there was sufficient intrinsic merit in the project to justify the construction of an expensive road alongside of an already existing canal that then controlled the coal-tonnage. Mr. Robinson was therefore, under the stipulation made in London for the second loan of one million, obliged to abandon it.

During Mr. Robinson's absence in England the construction of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad had been progressing toward Reading under Principal Assistant Engineers W. M. C. Fairfax and W. Hasel Wilson, and the stone bridge across the Schuylkill River at Black Rock Tunnel had been completed. This structure was considered a bold enterprise at that day, with its four spans of seventy-two feet. It was remarkable then as being the first large stone structure in the United States built for a double-track railroad, and it is remarkable even now for the small cubic contents of its masonry,—3471 cubic yards. It has been sufficiently tested through its fifty years of service by more than three hundred millions of tons that have passed over it, as well as by severe freshets which have swept away many bridges in the Schuylkill Valley, but left it standing, a perfect specimen of engineering skill, of which Mr. Robinson is justly proud as one of his earliest works. The total cost of this bridge was $43,262,84.

On the fourth day of July, 1838, Mr. Robinson opened the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad between Reading and Norristown, through the Flat and Black Rock tunnels, 937 and 1932 feet long, respectively, and over the Black Rock Bridge before mentioned. These were great advances for those early days of engineering experience in railroad construction, the cost of these two tunnels aggregating $272.700.

Before the construction of that portion of the road from Bridgeport to the Columbia Bridge, a distance of eighteen miles, and a part of Mr. Robinson's perfect design for the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, some of his directors proposed the abandonment of that portion, and advocated a connection with the Norristown Railroad, and by it to reach Philadelphia, but Mr. Robinson, who never would permit expediency to mar the plans laid down by him for the future prosperity of his work resolutely protested against a policy which he knew would obliterate practically the grand features which he had carried out on the rest of the road, and prevent the future success of the work he had thereby insured. The undulating grades on the Norristown road would have limited the effective power of the locomotives on the main line. When, therefore, the effort was persisted in to adopt that route for the Reading road against his advice and protestations, Mr. Robinson very plainly informed his board of directors that he would not be a party to what he could not but condemn as suicidal to the interests of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, and wished them to consider his resignation as their engineer before them whenever their resolution was passed ordering the change of the route laid down by him. Messrs. Chauncey, Keating, and Biddle, of the directors, sided with Mr. Robinson,, and thus the fatal error was avoided, and his original plan, without any interference, was ordered to be carried out.

Coincident with the opening of the road to Reading, the location of the extension to Pottsville was made by Mr. Robinson, with Wirt Robinson, Esq., as resident chief engineer, and W. M. C. Fairfax as principal assistant, in which a close adherence to the rules laid down by Mr. Robinson was carried out. A grade of

twenty-six feet for three miles was required to reach Mount Carbon. The system of contouring which he had introduced on this line has since been extensively used by engineers in the United States. The result has been that the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad occupies the only ground through the Valley of the Schuylkill that can offer the especial grades that have made this road famous, and which will forever prevent any other railroad from being an efficient competitor in this valley.

The extension, bold in many of its characteristics to preserve the features required by its author, has a tunnel on it near Port Clinton of 1637 feet in length, which was of very difficult construction, also several important crossings of the Schuylkill River. This portion was opened for public traffic in January, 1842, and immediately the road began to exhibit its capabilities for transportation, soon relieving its company from financial embarrassment caused by the outlay for its construction.

While the construction of the road was proceeding from the Falls of Schuylkill toward the Columbia Bridge, then used by the Old State Railroad, the public were anxious to discover where and by what route Mr. Robinson contemplated making the great coal depot on the Delaware River for the shipment of the large anthracite tonnage. The excitement was great among those hoping to derive special advantage from a fore-knowledge of a selection of the site. Mr. Robinson, therefore, in the interest of his company, did not feel justified in having regular surveys made to guide him in the selection of the proper point. Convinced in his own mind, however, of the advantages of the present site of Richmond as the best location for the extensive wharves he contemplated he determined personally and without any staff of assistants to walk over the route from the Falls of the Schuylkill, which he did quietly and unobserved, and in that walk, unaccompanied, and without any instruments (it was before the invention of the aneroid barometer, odometer, or hand-level), but by the eye, the number of steps, and general judgment at each interval as he advanced, he satisfied himself, in a few hours of diligent work, that the Summit could be reached with the grade he wished to adopt, which would admit of the entire train brought down by each engine from the

coal region being taken without stopping at the Falls, by the aid of an assistant engine stationed there, to the Summit, between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers. Satisfied by his observations during this brief reconnoissance, Mr. Robinson notified his directors, advising them to secure possession at once of the land required; which they did by the purchase of that extensive and valuable tract now forming the site of Richmond, and of the great shipping depot of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. Thus by the sagacity and efficiency of their engineer the railroad company procured this important position on the port of Philadelphia at a reasonable price.

Mr. Robinson's talents as an engineer were ever ready in the service of his company, knowing well that when rightly used they can often effect a saving of many thousands of dollars. The capacity of the Richmond wharves for shipment he made equal to the capacity of the railroad itself for transportation.

In 1838 the firm of Eastwick & Harrison, of Philadelphia, machinists then in a limited business, were engaged to build for Mr. Robinson a locomotive engine of his own design, as an experiment, looking to the rendering of this important part of a railroad as perfect as he had already made the road on which it was to operate. This engine was a small affair, as we estimate locomotives in the year 1888, but it was not considered so then. Its cylinders were 12 7/10 by 16 inches, the boiler 39 5/10 inches in diameter; it had four drivers of 40 inches in diameter, and a new feature in its horizontal cylinders, a fire-box 52 inches long, through which the axle of the hinder pair of drivers passed. The weight of this engine was but 24,640 pounds, of which 17,690 pounds were on the driving-wheels, its total length was but 18 feet. It was named by Mr. Robinson, after his London banking friends, the "Gowan and Marx."

"On the twentieth day of February, 1840, the trial of this engine took place on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, when she passed from Reading over the road to Columbia Bridge, a distance of 54.50 miles, in 5.50 hours, or about 9.9 miles per hour. The gross weight of the train, including engine and tender, was 441 tons of 2240 pounds,—taking back all the empty cars, which with the weight of engine and tender equalled 174 gross tons.

Michel Chevalier, the French engineer, who under a mission from M. Thiers visited the country in 1833 to 1835, brought letters of introduction from French contemporaries to Mr. Robinson, asking his aid in furtherance of M. Chevalier's object, which Mr. Robinson assiduously and gladly rendered.

M. Chevalier published in 1840 his work on the "Lines of Communication and Public Works of the United States," which made them more accurately known to Europeans than they were even to ourselves.

In this publication, M. Chevalier especially noticed the performance of the "Gowan and Marx" engine, which at that time was considered by the engineers as unprecedented. This statement by M. Chevalier reached the Czar of Russia, and in that year he sent commissioners to visit the locomotive works of the United States, and instructed them to bear an offer from His Majesty to Mr. Robinson, looking to the procuring of his services as engineer over the grand system of railroads he was about to inaugurate for the Russian empire. Mr. Robinson gave aid and counsel gladly to these commissioners during their visit, but did not feel justified in acquiescing in His Majesty's views, not wishing to absent himself from his own country and his family.

It was on this occasion that the firm of Eastwick & Harrison were introduced to the Emperor's commissioners by Mr. Robinson, which resulted in the well-known engagement and ultimate contract with that firm who at once transferred their business to Russia, and returned in a few years to Philadelphia, with ample fortunes. Mr. Robinson's kindness to and appreciation of this firm were ever warmly felt and expressed by both of its members.

In the year 1842, during General Tyler's administration, the Secretary of the Navy appointed Mr. Robinson, in conjunction with Commodores Shubrick and Conner, as commissioners to examine and report on a proper site for the great dry-dock proposed to be constructed by the government in the harbor of New York. Fenimore Cooper solicited these gentlemen to delay their movements for a short time, till he could join them, which he subsequently did, and remained with them during their examinations.

Their head-quarters were in one of the government vessels, placed at their disposal in the harbor for their reconnoissances of the different sites, which occupied some months. Mr. Robinson was called upon to draw up the joint report, which was approved of, and fixed the site of this dock at Wallabout, where it now is.

In or about the year 1845 commissioners visited the United States from Prussia, and were instructed to obtain information from Mr. Robinson about railroads, which service was gladly performed, and for which he received due acknowledgments.

The last act of professional duty performed by Mr. Robinson was this reconnoissance in the New York harbor, and in 1847 he retired from the profession; though he has often since been consulted his advice has been given gratuitously. He preferred to use his already-acquired professional experience (backed by his own judgment and foresight) to guide him in making investments of the means already acquired in what he deemed would in the future prove to be productive improvements, conceiving it would be of more financial advantage to him than a further continuance in his active professional duty for others, and this was, moreover, urged by Mrs. Robinson.

It has been repeatedly asserted by engineer officers in Mr. Robinson's employ, that his system, and discipline, so well carried out, supplied an education of the very best description for civil engineers. The requirement of a strict obedience to general orders did not deprive them as officials of a proper manly independence, and they were left full opportunity for the exhibition of professional talent, in carrying out the same, each in his own way. Able officers in charge of the assistant engineers were willing teachers and advisers, and that peculiar education indispensable for fitting them for the highest positions, and performing successfully the most difficult duty a chief engineer has often to perform—viz., to manage his board of directors for their own good,—was not neglected. Hence the career of many of the engineers who had been employed by Mr. Robinson can be traced to positions and length of service alike creditable to them and their honored chief. Some of those engineers have been placed by him in important posts on his finished roads, and, through many hon-

orable promotions, have proved faithful and efficient officers for more than fifty years.

The last work constructed by Mr. Robinson, under the immediate direction of William Moncure as chief engineer, is the Palmetto Railroad, an important though short link in the great Metropolitan route, which was conceived in his clear forethought more than fifty years ago. This Palmetto road is but eighteen and a quarter miles in length, but it does away with one of the hindrances to the earlier completion of this portion. The bridge over the Great Pedee River, near Cheraw, in South Carolina, at the head of navigation, about one hundred and fifteen miles from the Atlantic, has thus been built. It is a fine iron Pratt truss 614 feet in length, on stone piers 50 feet above the river, with trestled approaches aggregating 4000 feet lineal. There are four spans of 150 feet each, which were erected by the Phoenix Bridge Company, of Philadelphia, in forty-seven working days, at a cost complete of $26,836.

The Palmetto road serves as a continuance of the Seaboard Air-Line from Hamlet, North Carolina, to Cheraw, South Carolina, while the Raleigh and Augusta and its sister road, the Raleigh and Gaston, stretching up northward one hundred and fifty-six miles from Hamlet to Ridgeway, North Carolina, form a part of this Metropolitan route, under the presidency of J. M. Robinson, Esq., the eldest son of Mr. Robinson. At Ridgeway it connects with the only missing link to complete the connection with the Richmond and Petersburg road, a distance of seventy-five miles, which Mr. Robinson has also had put under construction.

At a very early date, under his fostering care and by his foreknowledge the Metropolitan route from Washington, D. C., to Augusta, Georgia, was devised and has been preserved, and by his energy and enterprise important portions of it—viz., the Richmond and Petersburg, and Richmond and Fredericksburg to Acquia Creek—have been constructed, bringing it within thirty-four miles of Washington, which gap has since been filled by the Alexandria and Fredericksburg road. In continuance of this plan, Mr. Robinson, in 1886, formed a company of his immediate friends, and resolved to bring the Palmetto road into operation as an incen-

tive to the friends of the Metropolitan route, in South Carolina, to use their efforts for the extension of it by a direct line from Cheraw to Columbia, South Carolina, and subsequently to Augusta, Georgia. The completion of the Palmetto road has verified this expectation, as it has animated the people along the eighty-seven miles of prospective line to Columbia to make arrangements, by legislation, public meetings, and local and municipal subscriptions, for building this portion.

On December 3, 1887, after the opening of the Palmetto road, a paper on this work as a link in the Metropolitan route was read before the Engineers' Club of Philadelphia, of which Mr. Robinson is an honorary member. This paper will be found in the Proceedings of the club, in vol. I, No. 3.

One of the exceptions to the general advocacy of railway construction by Mr. Robinson, in preference to canals, is the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, of fourteen and one-fourth miles in length, connecting these two navigable waters. In this work Mr. Robinson has large pecuniary interests. The fine steam-boat line between Baltimore and Norfolk, Virginia, known as the Bay Line, was established by him, and he is perhaps the largest stockholder in that company. It connects with the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad, both companies being under his son, John M. Robinson, Esq., as President, these connecting with the route formed by the Raleigh and Gaston and Raleigh and Augusta, before mentioned.

John Robinson, the father of the subject of this sketch, married a daughter of William Moncure, Esq., of Richmond, Virginia. His son, Moncure Robinson, of whom we write, married in 1835, the daughter of Bennett Taylor, Esq. a graduate of Princeton College, and afterwards an eminent member of the bar, in Richmond, Virginia. After his marriage Mr. Robinson became a permanent resident of the city of Philadelphia, where he now resides. The American Society and the Philadelphia Club of Civil Engineers, together with societies of Paris, send him regularly the reports of their proceedings, and in them he takes much interest still.

The confidence now placed in the ability of civil engineers to mature works of magnitude, and the large means supplied for their expenditures, afford the bold and enterprising of the pro-

fession, at this date, opportunities to put into further practice the half-century of experience that has made the civil engineers in all countries the great leaders in the civil, political and civilizing influences that have hastened the wonderful progress of the world's advance in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The reverse of all this existed in 1820, when the subject of this sketch commenced his professional career. Then the civil engineer had to work uphill all the way, against prejudice and minds accustomed to travel in old and deep-worn ruts. Yet amid these impediments we find this young engineer, whose only capital was a sound liberal education, perfecting his scientific studies abroad, making himself familiar with the improvements of Europe, rising rapidly in the estimation of his countrymen, constructing some of the greatest works of that period, and, as an American engineer, solicited by Russia, France, and Prussia to devote his services to the development of their contemplated great systems of public improvements. Mr. Robinson thus is the first American engineer who received the recognition and appreciation of the rulers of Europe and those countries have learned that the continuance of that appreciation has been well merited since by American engineers.

One of the marked characteristics of Mr. Robinson was his courtesy and consideration towards his engineer officers. He gave fatherly counsel to some who were greatly benefited by it, and who bear it in mind to this day, and he extended a generous hand to those who needed it. During the year 1886 he travelled one hundred and twelve miles to attend the funeral of one who had filled important positions on one of his roads, and Mr. Robinson took his place among the chief mourners, and had a special car for the transportation of all his old associates who wished to share in the last record of appreciation of their departed friend.

The respect and deference paid Mr. Robinson by his own engineers, and by many others of the profession, have always shed a ray of sunshine across the quiet of his declining years.

RICHARD B. OSBORNE, C. E.

Philadelphia, December 24, 1888.

LETTERS OF PATRICK HENRY, SR., SAMUEL DAVIES, JAMES MAURY, EDWIN CONWAY AND GEORGE TRASK.

(From Dawson Manuscripts, Library of Congress.)

St. Pauls parish Hanover Feb. 13th
1744/5

Reverend Sir[1]

I would have wrote you before now concerning the new Preachers that have lately seduc'd some unwary people in this Parish, had I not expected to be more distinctly inform'd of some of their principles and practices which I thought might render my account of them or their followers more full and satisfactory which please take as follows. There is in Pennsylvania a Synod of Protestant Dissenters consisting of about 40 members, one of whom viz Mr. John Thomson came to a certain Gentleman's house in our parish, on thursday the first of this month, intending to preach the Sunday following in the meeting house lately erected here, but when he with a few that accompany'd him, came to the house on Sunday morning, the followers of Robinson,[2] Blair[3] & Roan[4] (whom I mentioned to you when at Wmsburg) shut the doors against him alledging he was an opposer of these three, the last of whom had wrote to some of them, requesting them in the name of the Lord, and for the Sake of Christ Jesus, not to allow Mr. Thomson to preach in their house, because he is an enemy to Christ & true religion. On hearing of this difference among them, I sent and invited Thomson to my house. He entertained me with a distinct account of these new light men, their peculiar tenets, and practices, their rise and progress to this time. He is, in my opinion,

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[1]Addressed to Rev. William Dawson, Commissary of the Bishop of London.

[2]For an account of Wm. Robinson see 3 Sprague's *Annals*, 92.

[3]For an account of John Blair, see 3 Sprague's *Annals*, 117.

[4]For an account of John Roan, see 3 Sprague's *Annals*, 129.

a man of learning and good Sense, a strenuous opposer of these new Preachers and Whitfield, having published two small treatises against them (which I think are very well performed) and I believe he is a man of piety and veracity. So that his information may be look'd upon as true. The substance of which with what I have upon other undoubted [?] is as follows. There is one Gilbert Tennent lately a leading man in the Synod of Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, who, with one Mr. Freelenhauson a Dutch Minister of Staten island, had several years before Mr. Whitfield appear'd in America broach'd some strange notions about religious matters, which some other younger Preachers imbibd from them, but they had not authority enough to impose these notions upon the people, till Whitfield coming over joind them, and then their notions and opinions were every where publishd, and being espoused by Whitfield and his followers, became the current Doctrines of that joint party; and at a meeting of the above mentioned Synod at Philadelphia in May 1741 this Tennent and eight more of the members openly declared their separation from the Synod, and have ever since that time continued to meet by themselves, to [?] a discipline of their own framing, and have ordaind a good many young Preachers, whom they send into all parts of America to disturb the established Churches of all denominations, requiring almost no other qualification in Candidates for Orders, than, what they call experiences of a work of grace in their hearts; and the Preachers who lately came into Hanover were three of those ordained by these Separatists above mentioned. The new doctrines these Schismaticks are at great pains to propagate and which their Missionaries publickly taught among us here were chiefly these following viz.

That antecedent to the very first beginning of a work of grace, there is a necessity of what they call, a Law work or common convictions, whereby the Sinner must be brought to despair, by way of preparation for Gospel grace, and some of them assert, That men must be willing to be damm'd, before they can obtain an interest in saving grace or mercy. And Roan who preachd in Hanover about Christmas last, asserted in one of his publick discourses (as I was informd by one who heard him) That a Sinner, before

he can be thoroughly converted, must experience this Law work in such a degree as to disbelieve the very being of a God. II. That every true Convert is able to give an historical narrative of the time and manner of his or her conversion. III. That every converted person is as assuredly sensible of the Spirit of God working in him, as he would be of a wound or stab, or any thing else that he knows by his outward senses. IV. That all true believers, and especially converted ministers have the spirit of discerning whereby they can distinguish a hypocrite or a formal professor, from a sincere Christian. And this Spirit is claimd by some here in Hanover, particularly Samuel Morris and Thomas Green two of my neighbours. V. That a true Christian may know whether a Minister be converted or not by hearing him preach or pray. This wild notion prevails among our Enthusiasts here, and I have been condemn'd by some of them as a stranger to true religion, & what they call the work of God, particularly by one Roger Shackleford who having come to Church last Sunday, in his way home told those about him, that I had preach'd Damnable doctrine, and he pitied me as being an unconverted graceless man. And now that I have mentiond Shackleford, I cannot omit informing you of another piece of his conduct. I sent him one of the Bps of London's letters for his perusal, and before he had read it half over, he returnd it to the person by whom I sent it, and told her that he was sure the Bishop was an unconverted man, and said he wished God would open his eyes to see the truth. VI. That a Minister being unconverted hath no call or authority from God to preach the Gospel and such a Minister's preaching, tho' he preach sound doctrine, can be of no saving use to the hearers. And thus by their pretended Spirit of discerning they apply the sentence of Condemnation to all ministers who are not of their way, and persuade as many as they can, to forsake their own Pastors as carnal graceless wretches, tho men of good principles and blameless lives. VII. That a regular ordination of a man to the holy Ministry, after due tryal and examination, is not the call of God, but of men only, the call of God with them being wholly inward by the Spirit and that therefore none ought to be admitted into the Ministry, but such as are sure of their conversion. VIII. That

Christians are not obliged to adhere to their own respective Pastors, but ought to go to hear the word preachd where they think they receive the greatest benefit, or where they meet with the greatest gifts in the Preachers.

IX. They make little or no account of a sound profession of Doctrine, joind with a regular Christian conversation, as a ground of judging charitably concerning a man's gracious State, unless one can give a narrative of the work of the Spirit of God in his heart, to judge charitably of a man's state on any other account is called by them a murdering, barbarous charity.

X. They claim a right to examine whom they please concerning their spiritual state, and take them to pronounce such as dont please them in their answers, to be in a carnal damnd condition (These are their own words) This right to examine is common to both Preachers and people. XI. Both Preachers and people are great boasters of their assurance of salvation. They are so full of it here that the greatest number of those who have lately left the Church, and followed those Enthusiastick Preachers, last, as if they were there already; nay some people here who have always been justly reputed guilty of several immoralities such as do confidently assert that they are as sure of going to Heaven at cheating, lying, and even theft, and whose practices (I well know) are the same now as before, these very men do boast as much of their assurances, as others who are reckond blameless in their conversation: where such as these are so confident or rather impudent, you'l be less surpriz'd at what follows, viz, That their Preachers publickly tell their hearers, that they shall stand at the right hand of Christ in the day of Judgment, and condemn all of them who do not come to him at their call.

Having given you an abstract of their doctrines, I beg leave to add a few sentences relating to their practice especially that of the three Enthusiasts that preach'd lately in this Parish. These have been at great pains to vilifie the Clergy of this Colony and have told their followers, both in publick & private that they can never reap any benefit by going to hear them, because they are not the Servants of God, and have no authority to meddle with Holy things; They endeavour to give them a mean opinion of

our Liturgy, but this I believe they have done chiefly in private, for I did not hear that they spoke against it in their Sermons, however I know, that their adherents generally disperse it and one of them (Thomas Green), told one of his Neighbours that it containd abundance of lies, and mentioned that sentence in the Te Deum (All the earth doth worship thee) as one. These three that were with us, as well as their brethren elsewhere, strive with all their might, to raise in their hearers, what they call convictions, which is thus performd. They thunder out [?] words and new coind phrases what they call the terrors of the law, [?] & scolding, calling the old people, Grey headed Devils and all promiscuously Damn'd, double damn'd whose souls are in hell, though they are alive on earth, Lumps of hellfire, incarnate Devils, 1000 times worse than Devils &c and all the while the Preacher exalts his voice puts himself into a violent agitation stamping & beating his Desk unmercifully until the weaker sort of his hearers being scar'd, cry out fall down & work like people in convulsion fits to the amazement of Spectators, and if a few only are thus brought down, the Preacher gets into a violent passion again, Calling out Will no more of you come to Christ? thundering out as before, till he has brought a quatum sufficit of his congregation to this condition and these things are extolld by the Preachers as the mighty power of God's grace in their hearts, and they who thus cry out and fall down are caressd and commended as the only penitent Souls who come to Christ, whilst they who don't, are often condemn'd by the lump as hardned wretches almost beyond the reach of mercy, insomuch that some who are not so season'd, impute it to the hardness of their own heart, and wish and pray to be in the like condition.

You may probably think, Sir, that Iam a little hyperbolical in this last relation, but I beg leave to assure you, that I have unquestionable authority for the truth of it, and that they have acted in this parish in the same manner as I have now describd.

I am told that there are two or three of these Enthusiastic Preachers expected in Hanover next month, to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; I wish they could be prevented,

or, at least be oblig'd to show their credentials, for they may be Jesuits for anything we know.

You have here inclosed some notes of a sermon preachd by the last of these Missionaries; I was to have transcribd it but have not been at leisure to do it. I purpose to wait on you at Wmsburg—as soon as my parochial & other business will allow, that I may have some further directions about my conduct with respect to these wild & wicked men, and am very respectfully Reverend Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

Patrick Henry[5]

Pray Sir, excuse some interlining
&c I being necessarily in hast.

St. Pauls Hanv County

Reverend Sir[6] Octor 14th 1745.

I have been so much afflicted with fever, and ague last week that I was not able to write you concerning Mr. Whitfield, who made some stay among us in his way to Georgia, and preachd in one of our churches in this Parish. I take the oppty of my Brother to write you now but am at writing so ailing that I hope you'l excuse the brevity of the following relation, which I would not at present have troubled you with but that I'm afraid my conduct with respect to Whitfield, may be misrepresented to you, and I would by no means incur your censure or Displeasure. Mr. Whitfield lodg'd at a house in my parish Friday night the 4th ult and the next morning the Master of the house wrote me, That his Guest was desirous to preach in the Church the day following, if I would give him leave; my answei was in these words (Please to tell Mr. Whitfield, That if he will come to my house that I may have some conversation with him I shall be able to determine whether or

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[5]This is Patrick Henry, Senior, the uncle of Patrick Henry, the distinguished orator. "This gentleman had been induced to come to Virginia by his brother [John Henry] through whose influence he had been made rector of St. George's Parish, in Spotsylvania, in April 1733. On June 11, 1736, he became rector of St. Paul's Parish in Hanover." 1 Henry's *Henry*, 7.

[6]Addressed to Rev. William Dawson.

not it will be proper for me to allow him the use of my Pulpit tomorrow) Mr. Whitfield did not come near me, nor heard I anything from him. Next day I set out for Church and was told by the way that he was to preach either in the Church, or Churchyard, I found a great multitude waiting for him at Church, and after consulting some of my Friends, I thought it adviseable to give him leave to preach in the Church, on this condition that he read the common prayer &c before sermon, which when he came, he consented to do and accordingly read prayers, and preachd. If I had refusd him access to the Church, he would have preached in the Church yard, or very near it and then the whole congregation would have gone over to him, this was what I plainly foresaw, as did also my Friends; for tho the number of his followers there were but few, yet all the people to a man had a great desire to hear the famous Whitfield. And besides as all our new light men were present, who exclaim upon our Liturgy, I thought, that their great Apostle's using it, must infallibly silence them for ever on that subject. These, Sir, were my chief reasons for allowing Whitfield to preach in the Church, and I shall be extremely glad if you approve of them.

Mr. Whitfield preached in private houses in this parish on the same day & Monday following, and on which day, in the meeting house he refusd to baptize a Child they brought him & told them they ought to carry it to their parish minister, and that by their senseless, singular and [?] they laid themselves open to prosecution, but not for righteousness sake. And both in his sermon in the Church (which I heard) and other public [?] (as I was informed by good authors) he advised the dissenters to return to the Church, and some of the chief of 'em have declar'd that they will return, I am respectfully

Reverend Sir
Your most obedient
& obliged Humble Servant
Pat Henry

Revd Sirs

As I detest that Jesuitical Notion—That Equivocations & mental Reservations are lawful in taking an Oath, or in declar-

ing assent to a particular System of Doctrines; and as a few Clauses in some of the Articles of the Church of England, from subscribing to which dissenting Ministers are not expressly exempted by the Act of Toleration, may bear an Explication which I cannot adopt, nor assent to; I think it my Duty, for the Satisfaction of my Conscience, and that I may act with Gospel Simplicity to present to you, Revd Gentlemen, the following Explications of the Articles mentioned, declaring in what sense I take 'em when I declare my Belief of them.

I do heartily & unfeignedly declare my Belief of the 1st & 2d Articles without Exception, or Explication.

3d Art. with this Explication, That by the Clause "He went down into Hell" be not understood Christs local Descent into the place properly called Hell where the Damned are, but either his being in the State of the Dead; or his enduring extreme Misery & great Distress; or his lying in the Grave.

4th & 5th Art: wtout Exception or Explication.

6th Art: with this Explication, That this Clause "And the other Books (as Hierom saith) the Church doth read for Example of Life & Instruction of Manners", be not intended to enjoin as a Duty the Reading of the Apocryphal Books in publick Religious Assemblies.

7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th Art: without Exception or Explication.

20th Art. with the Exception of these Words, which is allowed by Act. of Parl. "The Church hath Power to decree Rites & Ceremonies."

21st Art. with this Explication. That these words "General Councils may be gathered together without the Commandment & will of Princes," only signifie, That Chri[sti]an Princes have Authority, to call, when there is occasion, General Councils and that Ecclesiastic Officers ought to regard and Submit to their Auth. in this Respect, but not that Ecclesiastic officers may not convene in Councils, when Occasion requires it, of their own Accord, when the Prince is a Heathen, or no Friend to the Church; for we find, The Apostles and Elders met in Council, without the

Command of the Roman Emperor, he being an Enemy to the Church, Acts 15.

22d, 23, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31th, 32th, & 33rd Art wtout Exception or Explication.

34th, 35th, 36th Art. wholly accepted by Act of Parl.

37th Art. with this Explication, That this Clause, "Unto whom (the "Queen's Majesty) the chief Governmt of all Estates of this Realm, Whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all Causes doth appertain", only mean, That the Kings & Queens of England, are the Supreme Head of the Civil State, and have the chief Govt. throf; & thrfore have the chief Govt. over all Ecclesiastic officers. as they are members of the Civil State, qua talis; and in all Civil Causes as well with respect to Such, as with respect to Such, as with respect to the Laity; but not that they are the Head of the Church, or have the chief Govt, and be the Supreme Judges in Ecclesiastical affairs and matters of faith: for as the authority of Ecclesiastical Judicatures, [which] are prin[cipa]lly concernd in Religious Matters, wou'd be infring'd: the Right of private Judgment violated; & implicite Faith introduc'd—I readily concede, That Principles subversive of Civil Society, & of the Foundations of N[atu]ral and reveald Religion, then propagated, may justly be checked by Civil Authority, & the Propagators of them punished with condign Punishment. But I cannot grant, That civil Rulers have Authority to preside in, and determine Controversies about Matters of Faith, & Affairs that Peculiarly concern the Church: The Determination of these, I humbly conceive, belongs ultimately to God speaking in his Word, & subordinately to Church Judicatures; not excluding the inviolable right of private Judgment. My Meaning I would illustrate by one familiar Instance, viz 'Tis much controverted in the Chri[sti]an World, whether a Sinner be Justified in the Sight of God, by Faith alone, wtout his own good Works & personall Righteousness? Now, I can't allow that the King's Majesty is Supreme Judge in this Case; & that his Majesty has the chief Authority to determine it.

38th & 39th Art. wtout Exception or Explication.

Thus, Revd Sirs, I have with Candour & Impartiality repre-

sent to you the Sense in which I cordially & freely Subscribe these Articles, & in which I do not.

The most material & Important Exceptions which I have made, are expressly allowed by the Act of Toleration—For these I need made no Apology—and the Explications are either the real Design & Intent of the Articles; tho' not so plainly expresd, but that they may bear another Explication; or, at most, they are such small Digressions & variations from the native sense of the Articles, that I humbly presume, they will be indulg'd—I am as well satisfied with his present Majesty King George as my Supreme Civil Ruler, as, perhaps, any loyal Subject in all his Majestys Dominions, and accordingly to attest the same, have with the utmost Freedom sworn allegiance to his Majesties Person & Government; & therefore if I be understood to insinuate any thing to the contrary, by the above Explications, I shall be very disingenuously wrong'd. But submitting these things to your Consideration I hope you'll allow me to be Revd Gentlemen

your very humble

&

Obsequious Servt. in the Gospel

Saml Davies[7]

Hannover Aprl 21st 1747

P. S. Tho I have not subjoind the Reasons of these Explications in full at present: yet, if it be judg'd requisite I shall be willing to propose them as soon as time will allow.

Directed thus
To
The Revd Mr. Henry.

Copy

[7]Samuel Davies was born in 1724 and died in 1761 while holding the office of President of Princeton College. In his 23rd year (1747) he was sent to Hanover, Virginia, and remained about eleven years, though absent for occasional periods of considerable length. The mother of Patrick Henry, Jr., was one of the followers of Davies in Hanover, and there is every reason to believe that the son was influenced by the impassioned oratory of Davies. One of the best memoirs of Davies is in the *American Quarterly Register*, v. 9, no. 4, May, 1837. The bibliographical note given there is of such interest that it is copied herewith. "Brief biographical notices of President

Hanover April 29th 1747.

Reverend Sir[8]

I made an appointment with the Revd Mr. Mossom to wait on you, this week, but, by the bad weather, have not been able to accomplish what I so much desired.

I need not trouble you with accounts of Mr. Whitefield's conduct here, my Revd Brother, who is with you before now, can inform you concerning him; as I could not get clear of the whole gang of enthusiasts & seducers (as I hop'd I should) I thought it needless to make use of what you sent me in your last, & the rather because I detachd the Man from his Party, and have got such verbal & written declarations from him, as will certainly give the world the same notions of Him as I always have had, tho' I am willing to conceal my sentiments of him (for some reasons) till I see you. I send you a Copy of Mr. Davies's Explications of the Articles; the original he withdrew last Saturday, intending, as he wrote me, to present it to the Governour in Person, he has preachd almost every day since he has been here, and is greatly applauded by his Followers, and by none more than a certain Great Man of your acquaintance. I'm sorry my Letter, when laid before the Council, had not the desired effect; I am ready to prove the truth of every Fact set forth therein, & which my Brethren, if they had sign'd the Lettor, must have believed upon my Testimony,—there being but few things in it that they themselves could otherwise know.

Davies may be found in the prefaces to the editions of his sermons; in the funeral sermons of Drs. Gibbons and Finley, generally prefixed to the sermons of Davies; in the second volume of the Panoplist; Middleton's Evangelical biography; Assembly's Missionary magazine; State of Religion in Virginia; Rev. David Bostwick's Account prefixed to Davies sermon on the death of George II; appendix to Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green's Baccalaureate Addresses; and in President Allen's American Biographical Dictionary; the most copious and interesting biography is found in the second volume 1819, of the Evangelical and literary magazine, edited by Dr. John H. Rice." To these should be added the account in Sprague's Annals, v. 3, and Foote's Sketches of Virginia.

[8]Addressed to Rev. William Dawson.

I want much to lay all my grievances before you, that I may disburden my Mind a little; but as that can't be done in writing, I will embrace the first opprty of waiting on you at Wmsburg. My wife & Jenny beg leave to join in our most respectful Salutations of You & your good Family and I am with much Esteem.

Reverend Sir
Your most obliged &
obedient humble Servt
Pat. Henry.

P. S. The inclosed Copy was written for my own use, there are contractions in it that mayn't be legible. I purported to have sent you the Original.

Hanover June 8th 1747.

Reverend Sir[9]

Mr. Davies whom the Govnour was pleasd to indulge in preching about six weeks in Hanover, is to leave it to day or tomorrow: And as I still suspected that all of his Fraternity were disturbers of the Societies of Christians of all Denominations, by declining to settle in any place, So I am now confirmed in that opinion of 'em by Mr. Davies's conduct. This Man (who was with me last Friday & Saturday) told us that he did not intend to return hither till next Spring & perhaps not then; and after he took his leave of me, I was inform'd by a Gentleman in Amelia That Mr. Davies is to preach at Goochland Court-house next Thursday, from whence he is to travel as far as Roanoke, preaching at certain appointed places in his way, and that circular Letters and Advertisements are dispersd all over the upper parts of this Colony, that the People may have notice of the times & places of meeting. My Informer has one of the circular Letters, and the Advertisement at Goochland Court-house has, I believe, been seen by hundreds.

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[9]Addessed to Rev. William Dawson.

I persuaded my self that the Govinor & Council never intended to encourage Itinerant Preachers, and therefore think it my duty to acquaint you with this Man's behaviour. I think also that the Govinour, by his Indulgence, did not allow Mr. Davies to administer the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which notwithstanding he did celebrate at the meeting-house in St. Pauls parish, on Sunday the last of May, and had a great many Communicants.

I need not inform you of the present distracted condition of my Parish nor of the future disturbances I justly apprehend from these Itinerants, who make it their Study to screw up the People to the greatest heights of religious Phrenzy, and then leave them in that wild state, for perhaps ten or twelve months, till another Enthusiast comes among them, to repeat the same thing over again, and this hath been the case here for above these two years past. I purpose (God willing) to wait on you as soon as I am fit to appear in Town: and am, with my wife's and Jenny's tender of respects to you & good family.

Revd Sir your most obedient & obliged
humble Servant
Pat. Henry.

Revd. & Honour'd Sir,

Embolden'd by your Condescension & Affability towards me when waiting upon you, & constrain'd by the Exigency of my present Case, I humbly adventure to trouble you in this manner, promising myself your Pardon, at least to pass with Impunity.

Soon after my Settling here, some Presbyterians in my Congregation apply'd to me for the Solemnization of marriage; But lest I should arrogate any Priviledge which did not legally belong to me, I refus'd it; 'till some time in March last, I had opportunity of submitting it to the Honble Sir William Gooch; who was pleas'd to tell me, unexcited by my Importunity, that, after regular Publication of the Banns, or obtaining a legal License, I might lawfully marry my own People; still securing the fee for the Parish Minister. Confiding in the Opinion of so qualified & authoriz'd a Judge concerning the Sense of the Law, as sufficient to direct me; &, besides, endeavouring to see with my own eyes as far as I was

able; I lately marry'd a Couple living in the Revd. Mr. Brunskill's Parish, after thrice Publication of the Banns in the Meeting-Houses where the Parties themselves, and those that were immediately concern'd, were wont to attend: & I order'd the Fee to be sent to Mr. Brunskill.[10] My Procedure herein has so inflam'd his resentments, that tho' I have inform'd him,—That I had the Governour's Permission to warrant it,—That the Perquisites shou'd be always reserv'd for him, & I design'd never to take a Penny,—That I shou'd yield the readiest Submission to the first Intimation of the Pleasure of my Superior, particularly the Honble the President & Council, requiring me to desist, &c. Yet he is determin'd to prosecute me. Without the Aid of a Judgement superior to my Own, I despair of convincing myself of the Illegality of my Conduct; & therefore humbly submit it to your Honour's Determination, requesting your Opinion of it, or rather (if it be obtainable by your condescending Interposition in my behalf) an Authoritative Order of Council, confirming or nullifying the Governour's License; to regulate & Indemnifie me in my future Conduct.

As the Preaching of the Gospel is the Main End of my Function, &, I think, the principal object of my Zeal; & as the Priviledge of marrying has no immediate Connection with it; I want no Motive to excite me to relinquish it, but such an Order; 'till I obtain it, or something equivalent, the legality of it, not only in my Apprehension, but according to the Governour's Judgment is sufficient, I humbly conceive, to indemnifie me in the Use of it.

I allow myself the Pleasure, Sir, of expecting an Answer with all convenient Speed: & you may rest confident that the Determinations of Authority shall always be a rule of Practice to,

Revd. & Honour'd Sir,
Your oblig'd
&
Most humble Servt.
Saml. Davies.

Feb. 3rd
1749/50

[10]For the three John Brunskills, clergymen, see Perry's Papers relating to the church in Virginia.

[Endorsed]
To
The Revd. & Honble
Dr. Dawson
Commissary, & one of His Majesty's Council, &c.

Hanover Augt. 22d 1751

Reverend Sir

Inclosed is a Copy of a Letter from Mr. Davies to one of our Justices, which, I thought, you might be willing to see. As no Encouragement is to be given that Party wch can be legally deny'd them, I shall use my Interest with our Court to have the Consideration of their Petition deferred till I receive your Directions; as, I'm afraid, I cannot have them before next Court; but if I cannot prevail with the Justices to put it off till then, I hope, I shall be able to give them Such Reasons as will determine them to reject the Petition viz. That Mr. Davies perform'd several Parts of his pretended Ministerial Office, both here and in Henrico, before he was legally qualified. That, last May, he transgressed his Limits, by preaching &c in the Southern Parts of this Colony? That he hath celebrated the Rites of Matrimony, in this, and a neighbouring County. That many of his Hearers do, in their Meeting houses hold unlawful Assemblies, in Contempt of the Act of Toleration. That some of them have spoke reproachfully of the Liturgy, & officers of the Church. That they whom Mr. Davies married, joined with him in an illegal Act. These Facts will, I hope, demonstrate that both Mr. Davies, and many of his Congregation have faild in giving Sufficient Evidence of their Fidelity to the civil Governments, and inoffensive Conduct. I wish I could find any Thing provd against them before the Genl. Court, wch might strengthen what I have to say; you may, probably, help me to something of that Nature from the Records of that Court. If they obtain a Testimonial from our Court, I think, it can be no other than a Certificate from the Clerk bearing that they or some of them, have taken the Oaths enjoynd by Law to be taken by such People; but this is not what they aim at. I shall look for

your Directions in the Matter, and observe them, in the best Manner I can.

I am sorry that I have ground to find Fault with my old Friend the Revd Mr. Mossom,[11] who has used me very unkindly, if Matthew Anderson speaks true upon (I think) his Death-bed; Our former Intimacy will not allow me to give his Treatment of me a harder name than Unkindly. He return'd me an Answer to mine (wch you saw) in such a haughty stile that I have not thought it expedient to correspond with him ever since. I have it in my Power to show the World, that he is in the Wrong; but several Considerations determine me otherwise. I would always pass over the Faults of my Friends, and therefore did not resent that Part of his Conduct viz. That during our Intimacy, I had Reason to believe that he endeavoured to lessen me in the Esteem of a certain Honble Friend whom I justly value and in whose generous & disinterested Favour I was always proud to have Place. The Gentleman could not Bear, like the Turk, a Brother near the Throne. However, I thought, that this & some other Things that gave me just offence, might still consist with some sort of Friendship, but my Revd Brother's late Usage of me is altogether incompatible with any Degree of it. When I have an Oppty. of waiting on You, I shall give you a Detail of the whole Affair, wch would, after this long Service, tire your Patience too much; And I should not have given you the Trouble of any Thing concerning our Difference, were it not to justifie myself for not waiting on Mr. Mossom, as you desir'd. When my Business will permit, I purpose to pay my Duty to You, at your hospitable House, & am very respectfully,

Reverend Sir
Your most obedient
obliged, humble Servant
Pat. Henry.

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[11]Rev. David Mossom, minister of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent. Mr. Mossom is remembered as the minister who married George Washington to Martha Custis.

Reverend & honorable Sir,

Not doubting but, as You represent our pious & learned Diocesan, tis your great Study to preserve, as far as may be, Purity of Faith, as well as sound Morals & good order in this remote corner of his Lordship's Diocese; it seems not improper to inform You that the revd Messrs Davies & Todd[13] have lately been guilty of what I think Intrusions upon me, in having preached each of them a Sermon at a Tavern in my Parish; within the Bounds of which I have never heard, that either of these Gentlemen, or any of their Communion, have obtained any properly authenticated License to exercise their Function. What was their real Motive to this Conduct, I dont undertake to determine: but an apparent one was, the Request of Capt Overton to Mr. Davies, & of Capt. Fox to Mr. Todd, to preach an occasional Sermon to their respective Companies, at the Time of their Departure to range upon our Frontiers. But, as few, if any, of the former Company reside in this Parish, it might perhaps, have been equally prudent & regular in the former of those Teachers to have preached in one of his own Meeting-houses in Hanover. And, tho the other Company consisted chiefly of Inhabitants of this County yet tis Matter of Question with me, whether their Request alone sufficiently justifies Mr. Todd in acting as he has done; which however is humbly submitted to your better judgment.—If these Gentlemens Conduct be warrantable in this Particular; the inconveniences, resulting thence, must be patiently acquiesced in; but, if not, every stanch Friend of the Church of England will be pleased to see those Evils obviated in Time & guarded against for the future. What they are, tis needless to mention to You, Sir, who for some years past have had frequent opportunity of remarking, what Heats & Dissentions, what Breaches of Charity, what Ruin & Decay in the Families of many well meaning but deluded People, what Confusion & Disorder, what Disaffection in the People to regular Pastors, of unblemished Morals & unquestionable Abilities, together with many other unhappy Effects, have usually attended the Ministry of Itinerants & Enthusiasts in this Colony, whenever they

[13]For an account of John Todd, see 3 Sprague's *Annals*, 144.

have either boldly intruded, or been legally licensed.—Tis a Doubt, I am told, with some worthy Members of your honorable Bench, whether the Act of Toleration extends to the Plantations. I wish that Doubt were indisputably solved, which, perhaps, it would be, on proper Application to proper persons. Not that I would be fond of seeing these or any other nonconforming Teachers molested purely for their religious tenets; but of seeing the Privileges of both Churchmen & Dissenters so precisely ascertained, as to leave no Room for Controversy in the Case. I trust I am far from the inhuman & uncharitable Spirit of Persecution. No Man either professes or thinks himself a warmer Advocate for Liberty of Conscience, that natural Right of Mankind. But when Men under Pretence of asserting & exercising this Right, sow the Seeds of Discord & Confusion: when they so industriously propagate heterodox opinions in a Manner, inonsistent with & repugnant to, the formal Sanctions of Government & Law; none, surely, not their most zealous adherents, nor even themselves, can justly complain, should they be laid under just & equitable Restraints. Such, as dissent from the established Church, & are indulged by the Government publicly to teach those of their own Communion under certain wise & moderate Restrictions, would, one would think, if influenced either by Modesty or Prudence be cautious of transgressing the Bounds, markt out to them by such wholsome & tolerating Laws; which, as they, on one Hand grant them all reasonable Indulgences, in Condescension to their scrupulous Consciences, so, on the other, must be thought just in wisely providing for the Peace, Unity & Order of the national Church, for the Security of which they have been chiefly calculated. These Gentlemens Intentions may, peradventure, have been pious. I wont assert the Negative. But this, I believe, may be safely affirmed, That if, to effectuate their Intentions, however pious, the Laws of the Community must be violated, & if the Violation of such Laws be an Evil; they have, if not intentionally, yet eventually, acted upon that unsound Principle, which St Paul disclaims with so much Abhorence, Doing Evil that Good may come. Do me the Justice, Sir, to believe, that a pure Zeal for the established Church, a sincere Desire to guard that Part of it which is

intrusted to my Care from Errors in Doctrine as well as Practice, & a compassionate Concern for many honest but ignorant People who by being unhappily seduced from the Church to the Conventicle have been involved in inexplicable Difficulties, have been my only Motives in troubling You with this Complaint. To which if you find it expedient & practicable to give effectual Redress, you'll greatly oblige all, in general, who wish to see Purity in Faith & Manners flourish in this Part of the Christian Church; and, amongst the rest, in a very particular Manner,

Reverend
& Honorable Sir,
Your obliged Friend
& affectionate Brother
James Maury[14]

Fredericsville
Oct. 6, 1755.

Lancaster March 3d 1758

Reverend Sir[15]

I expect the Gentlemen of the Clergy, from these Parts, will Let your Hon. know the Evil Consequences of a Dissenter's Preaching among us.

Inclosed is a Short Representation to be laid before the Next Assembly, which I Humbly offer to your Care, till the Assembly meets, hoping the Honourable Council will then Send it to the

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[14]James Maury was born April 18, 1718, and attended William and Mary College. On July 31, 1742, he was appointed usher of the grammar school. Ordained in 1742. He served one year as a minister in King William, and then went to Fredericksville parish in Louisa. He died as minister of this parish June 9, 1769. (Tyler's *Va. Biog*, v. 2, p. 201.) He was the plaintiff in the famous suit in Hanover, in which Patrick Henry distinguished himself as the defendant's counsel. There is an interesting letter of Rev. James Blair, the commissary to the Bishop of London, about James Maury, Feb. 9, 1742, printed in Perry's "Papers relating to the history of the Church in Virginia," p. 36.

[15]Addressed to Rev. Thomas Dawson, commissary of the Bishop of London, and President of the College.

House of Burgesses for their Consideration. Pray Excuse this Presumption in,

Most Reverend Sir,
Your Honrs. most Humble
and very Obedient Servant
Edwin Conway.[16]

Reverend Sir

Mr. Davies hath sent among our Negroes a Small Pamphlet,[17] I Expect one will be Sent to your Honr. wherein you may Perceive Mr. Davies hath much Reproached Virginia. And informs the Negroes they are Stronger than the Whites, being Equal in Number then, & having an Annual addition of thousands. I Can't See any Advantage to the Country, to give this account to the Negroes. See Appendix to Fawcett's Ad[?] I know of but two Freeholders in this County, Dissenters; and they both received the Holy Eucharist, in our Church, before Mr. Davies Preached here. I am the Oldest Freeholder in the County, and I never

[16]For a good account of Col. Edwin Conway, see Hayden's *Virginia Genealogies*, p. 238-243. Col. Conway was born in Lancaster in 1681. He died October 3, 1763. He was for a period of 32 years, 1710-1742, in the House of Burgesses.

[17]In the biography of Davies in the *American Quarterly Register*, v. 9, p. 312, is an extract of a letter written by Davies to a friend in London in 1755, upon the subject of his efforts to convert the negroes. He writes "The books I principally want for them are Bibles, and Watts' Psalms and Hymns." For a discussion of the relation of the negro to the Church in colonial times, see M. W. Jernegan's "Slavery and Conversion in the Colonies," in *American Historical Review*, v. 21, p. 504-527. See in this connection Davies' sermon "On the Defeat of General Braddock" (Sermons, ed. by A. Barnes, N. Y., 1849, v. 3, p. 228) in which he addresses the negroes in the congregation showing them why they should not wish to take the side of the French. There was probably some fear of a slave insurrection in favor of the French, and Davies words were intended to influence the negroes to remain loyal.

heard a Dissenter Preach, Except one received Minister of the Parish, in old time.

I am ut Supra

Chesterfield Dec. 9th 1758

Reverend Sir

The Gentleman who brings you this will at the same Time deliver to you five pounds, the sum I Subscrib'd for at the Convention. Be pleas'd to take the Trouble to give him a Receipt for it. I beg Leave, Sir, now I am writing to you, to put you in mind of an Affair, which I could only hint to you, when I was at Town. That, if any Dissenters should appear in Behalf of an unlicensed Meeting House, which has been lately built in a Corner of my Parish, you will take Care to oppose them. It was chiefly promoted by some Scotch Merchants & others in Petersburgh of another County & Parish. It meets with no encouragement from the Gentlemen or Generality of the People of my Parish, except one wrong headed Colonel, & a very few others. But if factious & restless people may build an House, when & where they please, without Leave or License; the Peace & Security of the established chh will be very precarious. This method of proceeding must appear to be audacious, irregular & illegal, & inconsistent with any lawful Toleration, & Will always I hope be opposed. Therefore I hope you will take Care to disappoint them if they should apply for a preposterous License now. R. Sir I am wth the greatest Respect

Your most hble Svt.
Geo. Trask

[Endorsed] To
The Reverend
Mr. Commissary Dawson
at Williamsburg.

FOUNDATION AND WALLS OF THE COLLEGE BUILDING.

LETTER FROM PROF. R. J. MORRISON[1] OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE TO HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY.

Contributed by W. S. MORTON.

Williamsburg, Va., Dec. 16th 1859

My Dear Sir:

Are the walls of the present college edifice those which were originally erected? This is a question of interest to you, and I therefore take the liberty of calling your attention to the following *facts,* which seem to me to settle it. *Mere tradition,* cannot prevail against them.

1st. It is *indisputably true* that when the walls of the College were denuded several years ago, to be replastered, that traces of an extensive conflagration were brought to view. These must have been the effect of the fire of 1705, for that which occurred about the period of the Revolution was too slight to have caused them.

2nd. The Rev. Hugh Jones, formerly Professor of Mathematics in this institution, and a contemporary of Governor Spottswood, in an account of the college-building, soon after it was first reconstructed, says "The building is beautiful and commodious, being first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there; and since it was burnt down, it has been rebuilt, nicely contrived, *altered,* and adorned by the ingenious direction of Governor Spottswood; and is not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital."

When the walls were exposed by the late fire, evidence of many *alterations,* was brought to light.

3d. The Act of the General Assembly of Virginia of 1693, locating the college under a provision of the charter of the College,

[1]Robert J. Morrison was professor of history and political science at William and Mary College at this time.

prescribing "That Middle Plantation be the place for erecting the said College of William and Mary in Virginia, and that the said college be at that place erected and built as *neare* the church now standing in *Middle Plantation old fields* as convenience will permitt." The Rev. Hugh Jones informs us also that Governor Nicholson layed out the city of Williamsburg in the form of the cipher of W and M. The Act of the General Assembly of 1705, which prescribed the present plan of Williamsburg, refers to an existing plan. The xxx th clause of the Act is as follows: "And be it also enacted that the four lots or half acre which *at the first laying out of the land for the said city*, by Benjamin Harrison Jr. Esq shall remain and continue to the use of the said Benjamin Harrison, his heirs and assigns, and shall not lapse from want of another building thereon, anything in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding." Gov. Nicholson was one of the Trustees named in the Charter of the College, and after the institution had been located by the General Assembly, the site of the building was doubtless conform'd, to the plan of the city, *to be built* at Middle Plantation, where as far as is known the church was the only edifice then erected.

The General Assembly was first held at "His Majestyes Royall Colledge of William and Mary," on the 5th of December 1700, and here it met until the year 1705, when the college building was first destroyed by fire. This was a memorable year in the history of Williamsburg. In 1705 the General Assembly reenacted the act of 1699 which directed "the building of the capitol and the city of Williamsburg." During this year the present plan of the city was adopted. The main street, named after the Duke of Gloucester, was *undoubtedly* layed off with reference to the old church. It led towards the *ruins of the College*. At the east end of it the Capitol was built. In 1705 the general Assembly determined to build also "An house for the Governor of this colony and Dominion." Palace street, now known as Palace Green was then layed off. The sites of all the Public Buildings were fixed with reference to the new plan for the city. The fact that the College was burnt in 1705, and not known to have been ready for use until 1719, has hitherto not been satisfactorily explained.

But when it is recollected that between these years, the Capitol, the Palace, the jail, the Magazine, as well as the college, were all built in a substantial manner," and exceeded" as we are told by the Rev. Hugh Jones, "by few buildings of their kind in England" we must be astonished by the amount of labor performed in so short a time, in a town so isolated as Williamsburg then was. The exigencies of the Government required the construction of the Public Buildings before that of the College. When these were finished Gov: Spottswood gave his attention to the re-building of the College. If the site of the College had then been changed, the building would have been conformed to the plan of the city, to a great degree then just built. But it does not conform to this plan. We must therefore conclude that Gov: Spottswood built upon the old walls, and that we have now the identical college edifice which was originally built in conformity with Gov. Nicholson's plan for the city.

I hope it will not be long before we shall have the pleasure of seeing you here. It is a gratification to us all to receive a visit from you. You are aware that we are at work in our new or rather renewed edifice. Less than a year ago we lost all, but yet we have been gainers. We have elegant Lecture Rooms, comfortable offices, splendid apparatus, and already about four thousand choice volumes.

When you come up again do not fail to bring your little boy with you. Ellis will be most happy to welcome him.

Yours very truly
Robt. J. Morrison

H. B. Grigsby L.L. D[2]
Norfolk
Va.

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[2]Dr. Grigsby was a firm and devoted friend of the college. He became the last chancellor of the college in 1871.

COL. WILLIAM MORTON.

By W. S. Morton.

About seven years ago, the writer began to collect material for the genealogy of "Old Joseph Morton," the father of Col. Wm. Morton. Being a descendant, my efforts have been especially directed to securing the military career of Col. Morton. After several years' close research of histories and magazines, I came to the conclusion that the name of this gallant soldier of the Revolution had never been recorded in history. It, therefore, affords me great pleasure to give your readers the within excerpt concerning him from Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby's letters, dated Nov. 19, 1874, addressed to Mr. George Bancroft, the historian. Mr. Grigsby congratulates Mr. Bancroft "on having gone so far in your great work, and on its completion" etc., and then adds, "I might have concluded my note, but as several little things of some historical interest occurred to me, in reading the tenth volume, I will put them down for what they are worth * * * I will add that my wife whose father was at Eutaw, and was wounded in the thigh from a ball from that fatal house, read your account of the battle with much interest. Her father, Col. Clement Carrington, was wounded in two places at Eutaw [see Garden's first vol. anecdotes etc]. From Col. Carrington I learned several incidents of the war in the South * * * You notice the fall of the gallant Col. Webster at Guilford. He was shot by Col. Wm. Morton, whose remains rest on the north bank of the Staunton river in Charlotte, between those of Patrick Henry and John Randolph or Paul Carrington. He was a private and took to the war his long ducking or deer gun, which carried a ball and seven or eight buck-shot. He took deliberate aim at Webster and saw him fall. The several wounds you speak of were inflicted by the ball and seathing buckshot. Col. Morton never missed his mark even at a deer at full speed. And as you always speak kindly of Presbyterians, I will add that Col. Morton was a Presbyterian elder.

The gun with which he shot Webster still exists in the possession of a descendant who resides in this county about 10 miles from my home. I heard this statement from Col. Carrington who knew the fact at the time."

TAYLOR AND JONES FAMILIES

By Trist Wood.

I have read with great interest the account by Mrs. O. A. Keach of the Jones family of Northumberland Co., Va., published in the *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, Jan. and Apr. 1915. It is ended with the statement "Any additional information will be appreciated." I trust it is not too late to send the "additional information." I regret not having seen this Jones data before. Let me say that for many years, and from many parts of the country, I have been receiving letters asking for information regarding a second wife of Zachary Taylor of Orange Co. (the President's grandfather) and children by this second wife. According to published accounts of the Taylor family, and according to our family papers, Zachary Taylor m. Elizabeth Lee and had Zachary, Hancock, Richard and Elizabeth. No other children are named—and no other wife ever recorded. Meade says he had "seven sons and three daughters," without naming them—and this statement has been often cited by those who claimed, or thought they had grounds for claiming, descent from him. The many letters I received caused me to investigate the matter of Zachary's having a second wife and a second family, but I could find nothing to substantiate these claims. A thorough search among our family records and papers led to no result, except of a negative character. The late Mr. Fall Taylor, who devoted many years to the compilation of the Taylor genealogy, informed me that Dr. A. G. Grinnan, of Madison Co., Va., had discovered that Zachary Taylor had married a second time, with Esther Blackburn, widow of Arthur Blackburn, and on her husband's death had been one of her sureties when she was granted administration. As there is a tradition in our family that Zachary had married a Jones, his second wife blossomed into "Esther Jones, widow of Arthur Blackburn." This gave Zachary a second wife. But no other children were forthcoming. As I looked into the matter further, I became skeptical

about Esther, and asked Mr. Fall Taylor for the particulars which Dr. Grinnan (meantime deceased) had given him. But all of his Grinnan papers had been lost in a fire. I obtained a copy of Esther's bond of administration, and found that Zachary Taylor's name does not appear on it. Esther became more mythical still. But relying on our family tradition that Zachary had married a Jones (and of course, taking this for his second wife) I had a blind search made in Orange County records, and the whole matter was cleared up (as I thought) by the discoverery of the will of Capt. John Jones dated 31 May 1758. Before proceeding further let me say that Zachary Taylor was b. 17 Apr. 1707 and married Elizabeth Lee and that she according to the family record "died early";—their children being:

Zachary Taylor.

Hancock Taylor, killed by Indians in Ky.

Richard Taylor, Col. in Revolution, father of Pres. Zachary.

Elizabeth Taylor m. Capt. Thomas Bell.

John Jones' will, above referred to, speaks of two children under age, also "my Loving Sister, Elizabeth Taylor"; and he appoints as ex'ors his "Loving Wife Mary Jones and her two brothers Maj. John Bell and Mr. Thomas Bell of Prince William County, & Mr. Zachary Taylor of Orange County." As Elizabeth Lee, wife of Zachary Taylor, died about 1750, here everything was explained. Zachary m. 2dly Elizabeth Jones sister of John Jones who made his will 1756. Nothing could possibly be more clear. But in genealogical investigation one must be prepared for surprise. And the account of Mrs. Keach of the Jones family did spring a real surprise. Mrs. Keach makes it very plain, from citations of the Northumberland records, that Swan Jones married Elizabeth, and died before 1742 leaving a son John Jones, and that Swan's widow Elizabeth m. secondly Zachary Taylor of Orange Co. So the will of Capt. John Jones which I found must be read in a completely different light, for the testator was son of Swan Jones and Elizabeth—who, when he made his will, had become Mrs. Zachary Taylor, and "my Loving Sister Elizabeth Taylor" was testator's half-sister—that is to say, the sister of testator's mother by her second husband, Zachary Taylor. Mrs. Keach gives

Swan Jones' wife merely as Elizabeth. Our family records show that Zachary Taylor m. Elizabeth Lee, and in all published accounts of the family she is set down as daughter of Hancock Lee of "Ditchley" and his second wife Sarah Allerton. This gives the patronymic of Swan Jones' wife, and will help clear up much of the Lee data in Mrs. Keach's article. The will of John Jones was witnessed by James Bell and Elizabeth Taylor. Mary Jones, the wid. was granted adm'n and she and Zachary Taylor, her security entered into bond in the sum of £1000. Test. Geo. Taylor Clk. (Col. George Taylor, bro. of Zachary was clerk of Orange Co.) Inventory (without appraisement) was made 8 Aug. 1758. A partial inventory (with appraisement) dated 3 Dec. 1759, by Richard Beale, James Coleman, Junr, and James Suggett, who state, "we the subscribers met and assigned the above articles to Mr. Zachary Burnley who married the widow of Capt. John Jones, dec'd."

To sum up: Elizabeth Lee dau. of Hancock Lee of "Ditchley" and Sarah Allerton m. (1st) Swan Jones of Northumberland Co. who d. before 1742; m. (2dly) Zachary Taylor of Orange Co., and had issue:

By her 1st hus. 1—Capt. John Jones of Orange Co. will dated 31 May 1758, pro. 1758. m. Mary Bell, who in 1759 m. Zachary Burnley. By her 2d hus. II Zachary Taylor m. his cousin Alice Chew. III Hancock Taylor, killed in Ky. IV Lt. Col. Richard Taylor, m. Sarah Dabney Strother. V Elizabeth Taylor m. Capt. Thomas Bell.

The above Lt. Col. Richard Taylor had Gen. Zachary Taylor whose eldest child Anne Mackall Taylor was my grandmother. Hence my interest.

REVOLUTIONARY OFFICERS OF VIRGINIA.

Contributed by W. S. MORTON.

The following is given as the "muster roll" of the revolutionary officers who assembled at Richmond on the 25th of October ult. to welcome general La Fayette:

Francis Smith, Capt in 1st Va. reg.....aged.....88
Gabriel Long " " Morgan's reg. 78
W. J. Stevens " " " 73
Charles Cameron " " 10th " 72
Robert Porterfield " " 11th " & aid to Gen. Woodford 72
Thomas Price, in Gunpowder expedition and various other services but not in continental services 71
John Smith, 1st lieut. 4th Va. reg. 73
Samuel Carter, Capt. 1st Regiment.....70
John L. Curte [?], lieutenant, 15th regiment.....70
John Marshall, Capt. 11th regiment.....69
James Morton, 4th Virginia regiment.....68
Wm. Evans, 10th Virginia regiment.....68
John Nicols, 1st Virginia regiment.....66
Churchill Gibbs, Capt. 1st Virginia regiment.....66
Carter Page, Capt. leg. drag. Continental.....66
D. M. Randolph, Bland's Regiment dragoons 65
Wade Mosby, Capt. horse, under Col. Call.....68
Wm. Broadus, Capt. 1st Virginia State Regiment.....63
Edward Eggleston, State legion 64
Francis Brooke, 1st Lieutenant 1st Regiment, Continental artillery commanded by Harrison 60
Clement Carrington, ensign in Lee's legion 62
James Lyons, private in Capt. C. Page's Cavalry.....61
Daniel Verser, Capt. in 15th Virginia reg.....69
Charles Woodson, Capt. 3d Virginia regiment.....65
Charles Gee, 2d N. C. reg. Nash's brig.....67

Wm. Price, 1st Virginia Regiment, lieutenant.....67
R. A. Saunders, Lieut. 1st Virginia regiment.....67
Mathew J. Eggleston, Call's Cavalry 61
Peter Foster, lieut in 1st Virginia State reg.....66
Phillip Holcomb, Maj in State service at Sur. York.....61
Robert Pollard, Culpeper bat. of minute men.....67
James Dozwell, 14th Va. Regiment.....69
Maj. Allen McLane, of Old Dominion Continental line, 78 years of age 8th of Aug. 1824.....78
Samuel Tinsley, lieut. Col. Dabney's reg. of Va.....64
Philip Slaughter, Capt 11th Va. Cont. reg.....66
John Slaughter, priv. 1st reg. drag. Col. Bland.....66
John Trabue, 7th Va. regiment.....62
John Nelson, Maj. Com. State Cavalry 71
Richard Thermon, private Holcomb's reg.....81
John Kilbey, navy, Bon Homme Richarde.....66

This list is copied from the original signed by the gentlemen themselves, their rank and ages recorded with their own hands. The original is in my possession.

Robert Douthat.

October 27, 1824.

The above is copied from Niles' Register.

W. S. Morton.

JOHN WEST OF ACCOMAC.

Att a Court held and Continued for Accomack County June the 22th 1692

Whereas mr William Anderson exhibited an Information to this Court against Lt Coll John West for consealing two Tithables (viz) James Alexander and Johnathan West (if not one of his sons John) not being named or entered into his List of Tithables by means whereof the sd West had incurred the penalty by Law in such case made and Provided viz Act the 7th 1663; allso that John Brooks late of this County deseased and Sambo als Calabar a negro woman slave belonging to the said Brooks were neither of them entered into the aforesaid Lists and praied Legall proceedings might be had and the penaltie disposed of as the Law directes; which being at the request of the deftdt referred to this Court; and this day being called & the Court takeing the same into examinacon the said Mr. Anderson produced a copie of the List of Tithables for the yeare 1691 wherein it appeared to the Court that the said James Alexander was not entred into the List of Tithables and pleaded that he the sd Alexander was a Tithable person in the sd Coll Wests family to which plea the said Coll West objected and alleadged that the sd Alexander was a sloope man and that he was not one of his familie by reason he had one by 9th part in the profits by the earnings of the sd Coll West sloop and that he was not a servant for wages & the Court debateing the matter doe adjudge that the said James Alexander to be a Tithable in the familie of the said Coll West and ought to have been entred with his List and therefore liable to the forfeiture in the sd Act aforemenconed and the Court further examining the pleas made by the sd Anderson in relacon to the sd Coll West son named Johnathan West the sd Mr. Anderson to prove the sd Coll West delinquency in not entring the Said Jonathan into the List of Tithables produced a Certificate under the Clerk of the Vestries hands that Jonathan West son of the sd West and Mistriss Matilda his wife was borne the 27th day of March 1674 and the Sd Coll

West alledging that he had kept in a Book presented to the Court a memorandum of his Childrens ages and that he had two sons of that name the oldest of whom being dead but no register appearing of the birth of his youngest son neither any record of the buriall of the oldest and the Said Coll West not produceing any proof of his Said allegacon whereby to counterballance the weight of the sd Certificate the Court doe adjudge the Said Jonathan West to be a Tithable likewise in the familie of the Sd Coll West and that the sd West is liable to the sd Law; and as to that part relating to his son John the Court finds that though he was not named in the Sd List yet the number was compleat to make out twelve persons & the Court allso further examining that part of the presentment made by the Sd Anderson agst John Brooks and Sambo alias Calabar a negro woman belonging to the sd Brooks the Court doe adjudge that the sd Coll West to whom the first part of the Informacon related is not liable to answer the Same. & the Court doe therefore order that the Said Coll West make pment of two thousand pds of tobacco and cask for the Said two psons concealed according to the tenor of the Sd Act wth Costs of suit als Execucon.

Capt Edm Scarburgh dessents from that part of the order relating to Jonathan West. Accomac Records, Volume X, folio 69.

M. L.

NOTES ON McCARTY, CHINN, GLASSCOCK, TURLEY, AND HARDWICK FAMILIES.

By ARTHUR LESLIE KEITH, Northfield, Minnesota.

A writer in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* July, 1915, asks my authority for the statement that Thaddeus McCarty married Ann, daughter of Rawleigh Chinn. It is found in a deed on file at Leesburg, Loudoun County, Va., which is dated October 8, 1773, wherein Thaddeus McCarty and wife Ann of Lancaster County sell land which the said Ann had inherited from her father, Rawleigh Chinn. I have no special acquaintance with the history of the Chinn family. The July, 1908, number of *The William and Mary Quarterly,* pages 61 and 63, give some records of the family. They show that prior to 1682, John Chinn had married Elizabeth, daughter of Rawleigh Travers. The following account, which I believe is substantially correct, though I cannot guarantee its accuracy absolutely, was furnished to me a few years ago by a descendant of the family, and has, so far as I know, never been published.

John Chinn appears in Lancaster County, Va., in 1664. He owned land on Morathis (?) Creek. The Chinns, Balls, Downmans, all settled in that part, and intermarried. The McCartys came later.

John Chinn had the following children: 1. John T. md. Elizabeth. 2. Ann, md. (1) William Fox, (2) Richard Chichester. 3. Sarah md. ———— Chilton. 4. Katherine md. ———— McCarty. 5. Rawleigh md. Esther Ball. 6. Joseph. 7. William. Rawleigh Chinn, who md. Esether Ball had son Thomas Chinn who md. Mrs. Edmunds, and their son Rawleigh Chinn, the sailor, md. Lucy Tarpley, and their granddaughter was my informant in this matter. She refers to a Rawleigh Chinn, Jr. (whom she apparently makes the son of the Rawleigh who md. Esther Ball) who died in 1756 leaving will in which he mentions as his only heirs, daughters Ann and Catharine, both under 21 years of age,

and she states that Ann later md Col. Thaddeus McCarty, and Catharine md Francis Humphrey Christian.

I believe that the writer referred to, at the beginning of this note and Hayden are both in error in regard to the Billington McCarty who died in 1771. There were two of this name. The Richmond Co., Va., records give the will of Billington McCarty, dated July 1, 1745, wherein he mentions son Billington and others (without name). This Billington dying in 1745 I identify with the Billington McCarty who md Ann Barber, June 16, 1732, and had 1. Daniel, born Oct. 22, 1733, died Aug. 6, 1739; 2. Billington, born Oct. 3, 1736 (therefore oldest living son, and heir at law, and so mentioned first in his father's will). 3. Thaddeus born Apr. 1, 1739 (probably the one who in 1758 md Ann Chinn, above referred to); 4. Charles Barber, born Aug. 23, 1741. The Richmond Co., Va., records show another Billington McCarty whose will is dated March 1771, and he, I think, must be identical with the Billington born Oct. 3, 1736. He mentions in his will, children Nancy, Daniel, William Thadias (no comma between last two names), Dennis and Elizabeth Downman McCarty. He seems to be identical with the Billington McCarty, who with wife Ann had son Daniel, born Aug. 24, 1757; with wife Eliza had son Billington, born March 18, 1759 (not mentioned in will); Thaddeus, born Sept. 1, 1763; Elizabeth Downman, born Nov. 30, 1768. I identify the elder Billington, of will 1745, with the son of Daniel McCarty who died in Westmoreland Co., Va., in 1724, receiving, by terms of his father's will, land in Farnham Parish.

In my notes published in *The William and Mary Quarterly,* January, 1914, I made an error in regard to the mother of Susan Hardwick, who, in 1787, md Cornelius McCarty. I stated that she was an Orear, but referred to the tradition of a Glasscock connection. She was not an Orear, but one Margaret Glasscock, as is shown by the will of John Glasscock made in Fauquier Co., Va., Nov. 27, 1774, wherein he mentions wife (not by name); sons Thomas, George, John, and Hezekiah; and daughters Mary Rector, *Margaret Turley,* and Susana Jackson. A descendant of this John Glasscock still lives on his farm near Rectortown, and preserves the traditions of the Turley and Kincheloe connection. The Fau-

quier County records show the following: Oct. 1, 1771, Thomas Glasscock and Agnes, his wife, of the Parish of Leeds, County of Fauquier sell to Margaret Harwich (sic) 244 acres, part of land sold to John Rector by Burgess Ball, Gent. of Lancaster Co. by deed dated Sept. 7, 1770. Three years later, Thomas Glasscock and wife Agnes sell part of same tract to William Turley. On Mar. 1, 1815, Sampson Turley, of Fauquier County sells to James Kincheloe, the land which Thomas Glasscock and wife Agnes had sold in 1771 to Margaret Hardwick. It is stated in this deed, that the said Margaret had later married William Turley, and had died intestate, leaving her said husband eight children of whom the said Sampson is one. So now, to reconstitute Margaret's history we must begin with Margaret Glasscock, daughter of John. md. 1. ———— Hardwick and had Susan and Elizabeth, and perhaps also John, 2. md. William Turley, to whom she bore eight children. There were Glasscocks in Richmond County, and vicinity at a very early date, but I have not established John Glasscock's connection with them as yet.

In Loudoun Co., Va., I find Sampson Turley selling in 1800 to John Turley, land whereon Giles Turley now lives, on the branches of Broad Run of Potomack. In 1800, Sampson Turley, Sr., and Martha, his wife, sell to Sampson Turley, Jr. (both of Fairfax County) land on Broad Run in Loudoun Co. which was sold to the said Sampson Turley, Sr., by George Foster, Sept. 1, 1740. In 1804, John Turley, and wife Mary, sell land on Broad Run in Loudoun Co. Sampson Turley is one of the witnesses. In 1808 Sampson Turley, Jr., and wife Sally sell land. Sarah Turley, in Loudoun Co., makes will Sept. 27, 1791, probated Sept. 11, 1792, she mentions sons Ignatius and John Turley. James Kincheloe, and Elizabeth, his wife, of Fauquier Co. in 1798 sell to Josiah Clagett, land in Loudoun Co. Witnesses are Richard Chinn, Burr Powell, Thomas Squires, and Moses Glasscock.

In Prince William County in 1765, Aaron Hardwick is plaintiff in a suit. In same county, in 1763, James Hardwick is a defendant. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the oldest son of Cornelius McCarty, who in 1787 md Susan Hardwick, was named Aaron Hardwick.

GENEALOGICAL QUERIES.

Borroum or Borum.—I want to find the maiden name of the wife of William Borroum or Borum, who married either Elizabeth Beverley or Elizabeth Randolph, or some of their relatives some time before the Revolutionary War; moved to South Carolina about the time of the Revolution.—*C. J. Ramage,* Saluda, S. C.

Coombs.—Wanted the parentage and ancestry of Mahlon Coombs born in Loudoun County, Va., in 1759. He enlisted as a revolutionary soldier in Loudoun County, and served under Captain Fegin and Col. Stephens. He died in Licking Co., Ohio., Nov. 25, 1834. He had four daughters, one married ——— Harris, a second married ——— Ackley, a third ——— Pitcher, and a fourth ——— Baker. He had 2 sons John and Israel. The latter married Miss Bolan. Mahlon's wife was Rebecca Norton.—*Mrs. E. M. Jones,* 1333 West 54th St., Los Angeles, Cal.

Gregory.—Richard Gregory with wife and children, (Smith, Asa, Sanford, Leroy, Godfrey, and Mary Eliza) emigrated from Virginia to Washington County, Ky., soon after the Revolution. Wanted, history of family prior to emigration to Ky. Is he brother to Roger who married Mary Cole Claiborne, nephew to Roger who married Mildred Washington, son of Richard who married Miss West?—*Emily Bird Smith,* Public Library, Muscogee, Oklahoma.

Garrett.—I am desirous of finding the name of the original immigrant of the Garrett family for which purpose I wish to connect myself with some Revolutionary Soldier, and prove my eligibility to the Society of Daughters of American Rev. War.

My great-grandfather's name was James Garrett and my great-great-grandfather was Robert Garrett and were from State of Virginia, later some of them settling in Allen Co., Kentucky. I am unable to get information on these names.

I find in the 17th report of the National Society of the D. A. R., page 342, certificate numbers and amount paid to one Robert Garrett—certificate no. 71613—amt paid $44.66 along with other

payments. I am unable to find if this Robert Garrett is of my lineage.—*Mrs. A. H. Scott,* 1002 S. Trell Ave., Normal, Illinois.

HOLLINGSWORTH.—James Hollingsworth came from Winchester, Virginia, about 1786 and settled in Edgefield District, S. C. He left one brother in Virginia, another went to North Carolina, a third went to Ohio, a fourth went to Kentucky, and one to Mississippi. He married Agnes Evans in Virginia, and they had several children. John born in Virginia in 1773 being the eldest. Who were the parents of James Hollingsworth and also of his wife Agnes Evans. James died in Edgefield County in 1821, his wife in 1812. James' name is mentioned in Williams' *Hollingsworth Genealogy.—Mrs. Sallie Strother Hollingsworth,* Edgefield, S. C.

JONES.—Wanted the parentage of Martha Jones, who married Thomas Short, son of Col. Thomas Short, who married Dorothy Jones, daughter of Peter and Dorothy Jones. Petersburg and Amelia people.—*Mrs. J. E. Little,* 131 A Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

HUDGINS.—Did John Hudgins, of Gloucester County, Va., who married Amelia Foster have Revolutionary service? Is there a record of his shipyard which we know he owned in Gloucester during the war.—*Emma Wilson Noel,* 603 The Sherman, Washington, D. C.

MATTHEWS, PALMER, DAVIS, CLEATON, MADDOCKS.—Luke Matthews b. 1739, d. 1788. Revolutionary soldier, Meherrin Parish, Brunswick Co., Va., said to have had a brother colonel in Lord Cornwallis's army. The two brothers had a reunion one night during the war in Brunswick Co., Va.

Luke was reported to have been killed the day Cornwallis surrendered. This is incorrect as our family Bible says he died Apr. 7, 1788. He had sons, Isham and Drury, a daughter Angelica. Who were their parents and where were they from, and how many brothers and sisters did Luke have?

2. Who were the parents of Dr. Amasa Palmer, of Mecklenburg Co., Va., b. 1750. Married 1st Sarah Davis, 2nd Judith (Michaux) Hendrick? Who were Sarah's parents?

3. Who did Richard Cleaton of York Co., Va. (York Co. Rec., 1657-1662), Jeremiah Cleaton, 1668, New Kent Co., Va., and

Wm. Cleaton (will Mecklenburg Co., Va., 1796) marry? Who were Richard and Jeremiah's children and how were the three men related.

Who were the parents and wife of Lazarus Maddocks (will Lunenburg Co., Va., 1894). He married Ann ———?—*Mrs. M. W. Jones,* 111 South Vermont Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.

Moss.—Who was the father of Nathaniel Moss born in Loudoun County, Va., in 1730? Who was the husband of Elizabeth Craik Moss who lived in Rappahannock County, 1677-1682. In the will of Elizabeth Craik it is mentioned that her second daughter was Elizabeth Craik Moss.—*Mrs. Rose M. Scott,* Willrose Farm, Chrisman, Ill.

STEELE.—Want information and genealogy of Dr. ——— Steele, who married a granddaughter of Colonel James Slaughter and Susan Clayton Slaughter. Dr. Steele and wife had eleven children, of whom John Alexander, James Slaughter, Moses and Rezin Davidge Steele, lived at Hopkinsville, Kentucky. A daughter was Susan Clayton Steele. Want to locate descendants of Susan Clayton and other six children of Dr. Steele.—*Rezin Davidge Steele,* 510 First Nat'l Bank Bldg., Houston, Texas.

YANCEY-CARLETON-MOSES - JENNINGS -MOODY - MARSHALL.—Information desired concerning Philip Yancey, presumably of Halifax Co., Va., who in 1803 married Priscilla Carleton, granddaughter of John Carleton, of the N. C. Continental Line; concerning ancestry of Nancy Jennings, of Va., b. Oct. 14, 1791, married Oct. 19, 1808, to Samuel Faris Moses, b. Oct. 3, 1781; concerning the sister of Chief Justice Marshall who married a Moody.—*Mrs. Edward W. Flinn,* Amory, Miss.

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